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HASTINGS HOUSE, PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK

CONSTABLE & CO LTD
10-12 ORANGE STREET LONDON W C 2

FOR MORE THAN THREE THOUSAND YEARS, the longest history in the world, whole dynasties of gods reigned on earth, in Egypt. Colossal monuments, masterpieces of sculpture and goldsmiths' work, triumphal hymns, all sang the glory of these god-kings, the Pharaohs.

Then, as one after the other Hellenism, Christianity and Islam triumphed, all the traditions of this powerful and cultivated civilization faded away, to remain shrouded in mystery for some fifteen hundred years. It was not until the 27th of September, 1822, when Jean-François Champollion found the secret of reading hieroglyphics, that the ancient society of the Nile was opened up once more; the language, history and religion of Pharaonic Egypt ceased to be mysteries, without losing any of their prestige and attraction of the strange and wonderful. Finally, about one hundred years ago, Mariette, digging the sands of Sakkara for the Serapeum of Memphis, started a "militant Egyptology" which goes straight to the earth for the materials of history.

Such perseverance and unforeseen adventure went into the search after the pomp of these Pharaohs, it is really surprising that so few works have been written telling

the story of the discovery of ancient Egypt. The long and persevering but exalting scientific elaboration of the evidence found, the ingenuity, and sometimes genius, patience, invention and chance that were needed for such an enterprise! More extraordinary still is the splendid story of the excavations which makes an impressive roll of man's audacity, ingenuity and tenacity, marked by some resounding human episodes : the discovery of the royal mummies in the hiding hole of Dair el Bahri, cheered on their way down the Nile by the joyful admiration of a whole people; the marvels of Tutenkhamon found in 1922 in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs by Howard Carter, chief of the Lord Carnarvon Mission; the treasure of the royal necropolis of Tanis, in the eastern Delta, dug out in 1939 and then again in 1945 by Professor Pierre Montet. More recently still, Egyptian archaeologists discovered an until-then unknown pyramid at Sakkara and one of the oldest ships in the world, intact, at Gizeh.

An enormous amount yet remains to be done, all the same. Maspero said in 1900, "The surface of Egypt has only just begun to be scratched," and this is still very true today. Egypt is an eminently archaeological land in the wealth of its monuments accumulated through the centuries and dynasties and it has the truly exceptional conditions needed to preserve them.

EGYPT LIES BETWEEN the 24° and the 31° latitudes north, in an extremely dry zone with a wonderfully serene blue sky. To the north, however, in the Delta, it rains; the land is muddy and soaked with the waters of the Nile. Here there are none of the remarkable preserving conditions that have made the rest of the country so famous. On the desert ledges in the south, land, temples and necropoles stand forth just as the sands have preserved them. The remains of the different periods have accumulated one above the other through the centuries. All that has been left by each succeeding age forms the mounds known as tells or *koms*; descending methodically from layer to layer, stratigraphically, is to make a section across history, going back through time. The bundles of fragile papyrus are still intact. The many-colored reliefs — most of the buildings were painted in bright colors — have often kept their freshness. Unfortunately, it must be admitted, once an object is exposed to the air, it rapidly decays. The air, a difference in the degree of humidity, handling, too, soon make the color disappear; the stone itself often begins to crumble

and fall to pieces with the capillary rising of the saltpeter and infiltered salts. In the valley proper and in the Delta, the water level is constantly rising — 254 inches a year or 3,280 feet in a thousand years — as the Nile brings down alluvium. This means that the buildings are continually attacked from beneath; the foundations of the temples, several layers of enormous blocks, are beginning to sink and there is a risk of many of them collapsing, as in the case of the pylons and the hypostyle hall of Karnak.

The Nile, a constant menace to the sites of ancient Egypt, and even more dangerous today with the barrages that raise the water level, is nevertheless at the very roots of Egyptian civilization. The prosperity of the land depends on the annual flood. "They tremble, they who see the flood, when [the waves] beat," it is written in the Texts of the Pyramids, the oldest Egyptian religious composition (middle of the third millenary), "but the meadows laugh, the banks burst into flower, divine offerings descend [from heaven]; men do homage; the heart of the gods exults." The river has to have extraordinary force to be able to bring water and life from the rainy massifs of central and eastern Africa to Egypt, after traveling thousands of miles across the most terrible deserts in the world. There is no more grandiose contrast than the Nile and the Sahara in the Sudan and Nubia, it is an exclusive dialogue between river and desert under an overpowering sun.

The sun is another force with the same regularity and implacability as the river flood. Every day sees it rise suddenly and brilliantly on the eastern horizon, reach its extraordinarily dazzling zenith at midday, to come finally to its dramatically rapid setting in the evening. It is not surprising that, from prehistoric times, there was a Heliopolitan doctrine to the glory of the sun-god, nor that the sovereigns of the IVth dynasty, who built their great pyramids to the sun, introduced Ra into their own name. One of Pharaoh's titles was "son of the sun," "son of Ra."

Let us leave these cosmic perspectives for a while, however, and come down to earth again. Egypt may be defined as the low valley of the Nile, a "burning and fertile land" as it has been called, "hot and laughing," a long oasis, green with meadows and palms, golden with corn and planted with cool orchards. All along the river, beside the countless streams of the Delta, are marshes with their tufted vegetation of reeds and undergrowth. This naturally rich land is rare in Africa.

To the west of the oasis is the Libyan plateau, one of the worst parts of the Sahara. The mountains of the Arabian Desert, to the east, separate it from the unfriendly banks of the Red Sea. Upstream, the cataracts of the Nile cut communications with the south. The sea front is narrow, made difficult besides by lakes and marshes. "Fortified on all sides by Nature" (Diodorus), Egypt has always been shut off from the rest of the world: from the Mediterranean and from Asia by the isthmus of Suez, from the Red Sea by the great ravine of the Wadi Hammamat, and from the rest of Africa of which Egypt is part — Berber Africa towards the northwest and Hamitic and black Africa to the south. The oases of the Libyan desert form a link, it is true, with the Gulf of Syrt and the south, towards the vast belt of the savannahs of the Sudan in the direction of Chad. Yet all outside influence was filtered, as it were, on its way into Egypt and adapted to suit the rigid framework of this very original civilization. For throughout its history the Egypt of the Pharaohs was *different* and *wanted* to be different. Every foreign innovation that came its way was always immediately made to conform to its own way of thinking. Egypt carried this principle of difference within itself. The country was made up of the "Two-Earths" (𓇿). In Upper Egypt there is no more than a strip of land—the fertile, watered part, only five or six miles wide in some places, twenty at the very widest part—with the desert plateaux ending abruptly on either side in sharp cliffs, the clear-cut, imperious outlines of which were not without influence on the bold majesty and rather harsh severity of Egyptian art. In the Delta, on the other hand, the Nile branches out; the low plain is entirely invaded by the waters. Earth, sky and water sometimes seem one in the mist. Nothing could really be in greater contrast than these "Two-Earths."

Their union at the end of Neolithic times, a little before 3000 B.C. is the foundation stone of Egyptian history. For more than thirty centuries after, Pharaoh was "King of Upper and Lower Egypt." The sovereigns are always shown with the symbols of this double kingdom; they wear the pschent (𓋖) which unites the white crown of Upper Egypt (𓋑) and the red crown (𓋔) of Lower Egypt. In many pictures, the plant of the south, the lily, and that of the north, the papyrus, are linked according to one of the major rites of the Pharaohs. The latter constantly claimed to have sprung from the "Two Mistresses" that watch over each half of the land—the vulture-goddess of el Kab and the serpent of Buto.

ACCORDING TO TRADITION the first kings of Egypt were the gods themselves. A papyrus preserved at Turin even gives the number of years they reigned. Writings make constant reference to the "times of the gods," the wonderful primeval period, "the like of which is no longer." Naturally, the order of these god-kings is not always the same; and the different religious centers give several versions of the old stories.

The dynasty was founded by the god Osiris and, in spite of the rivalry of his wicked brother Set, his son Horus managed to succeed him. Helped by his mother Isis, Horus kept his throne; he was the great dynastic god throughout. If Pharaoh was the "son of Ra," the sun-god, he was still more anciently Horus; right from the first dynasty, the very word king was a rectangle representing a palace, with above it, firmly seated, the majestic falcon Horus. For Horus was both the falcon-god and the son of Osiris; he existed in more than one form—seen from a different point of view, as it were, in each case. Pharaoh was Horus in his lifetime; after death he became Osiris. As in the old myth itself, the new Horus succeeded to his father Osiris and all his rights. When Pharaoh came to earth he went on being a god by birthright. His enthroning was only an epiphany, not an apotheosis. "Right from the egg," he was a king and a god and "made conquests while yet in his mother's womb." His birth was set in a timeless world and thus all the more mysterious. His divine birth made him a full-blooded god. This fundamental theme was expressed in various fashions—each true in its own way. The Westcar papyrus tells how the god Ra simply substituted himself for one of his own priests with the wife of the latter; she conceived the first sovereigns of the VIth dynasty, "vigorous children with limbs of gold." Famous scenes dating from the XVIIIth dynasty also explain these divine conceptions. In the temple at Luxor, Amenhotep III recounts his own divine birth, and on one of the porticoes of Dair el Bahri the god Amon is shown approaching the queen Ahmosis, followed by a scene of the birth of their daughter Hatshepsut. This wonderful poetry is of another world. More crudely, the god Ptah declares to Rameses II: "I am thy father... I took the form of the ram of Mendes and procreated thee with thine honorable mother." Pharaoh was the link between the world of the gods and that of men; the gods and goddesses had cause to rejoice one and all in a royal birth. The gods said, "We created thee;" and the goddesses: "He springs from us." It was probably in order to ensure the purity

of their line that certain Pharaohs married their sisters, or half sisters to be more exact (for the royal harem was vast). The "great royal wives" were of higher birth than their brother-husbands, who were born of concubines, and ensured children of divine blood. These incestuous marriages were, however, far from being the rule, as it is too often thought.

His Majesty "Life, Health and Prosperity" was anointed king of the "Two-Earths." Newly born to his supreme royal existence, the sovereign was fed by the protecting goddesses. He could then appear like the rising sun in the dazzling splendor of the great royal box covered in gold, the incorruptible metal, symbol of rebirth and eternity. Henceforth, the pictures on the temple walls show Pharaoh with the gods, whose life he alone of the living could share. In actual fact, priests assisted him in the celebrations, but they were acting in his name; it was a sublime dialogue in which the sovereign, representing all Egypt, made his wishes known to the gods in return for their promises. Everything royal—sceptre, mace, crown—was sacred; they were talismans and might not be touched with impunity, any more than the person of the sovereign himself. The very statues of certain kings were later worshipped.

The essential duty of Pharaoh was to ensure the triumph of Maat, Truth-Justice. This meant that he had to act in accordance with the order of the universe of which he was the permanent stay. The king had to attend to the worship of the gods, build temples and make sacrifices. Supreme high priest, Pharaoh was the heir to all the gods and their high priest in each of the little local principalities. As Canon Drioton has pointed out, in the absence of any real church, Pharaoh made a framework for all the different and very often enemy sects. When royal power weakened during the decline, the religion of Egypt broke up as a consequence; it was only then, indeed, that the worship of sacred animals began. During the great centuries, right until the eve of decadence, in spite of the hundreds of little local gods, there was only one Egyptian religion, that of Pharaoh, the god on earth and unique representative of the faithful before the gods.

To men, Pharaoh was at one and the same time the possessor and servant of Truth-Justice. He was responsible for the order of the universe in a sense that is not far from what was much later to be the doctrine of the Stoics. Egypt owed order and prosperity to the fundamental pact linking Pharaoh and the gods. The

offerings and prayers of Egypt reached the gods through Pharaoh's intercession; thanks to him, the blessings of the gods showered down upon the banks of the Nile in return. Pharaoh ensured the annual flood of the river; he presided over the subsistence of all things living, while he vouched for and promoted justice in social matters. His Majesty the "perfect god" was consulted about everything. The palace where he sat was the "great house" or *peraa* in Egyptian, whence the name of Pharaoh that has come down to our languages. He was also the head of the army and excelled at sport and hunting. The king's victories and great strength were the symbol of Egypt's triumph in every domain. Nothing could stand in Pharaoh's way; like a god over primeval chaos, alone he conquered all. The religious character of Pharaonic Egypt cannot be too much stressed; more perhaps than in any other ancient civilization, the political, not to mention social, and even economic foundations of ancient Egypt rested on a theological basis.

After his death the king went to heaven: "The king beats his wings like a bird; he flies, flies, oh men, King Unas flies [far] from you;" there "he was united to him who had engendered him." The deceased king at the same time became Osiris, the god who suffered and came to life again, ruler of the other world under the earth. Such contradictions, surprising as they may seem, are really only approximate expressions of a single truth seen from different points of view. The only person admitted to the presence of the gods on earth was Pharaoh and in death he still had exceptional privileges. There were sumptuous feasts for his funeral; grandiose monuments were erected to his memory; writings ensured his rebirth and future life. He represented Egypt in his struggle with death and Egypt needed his intercession forever. Near his tomb there was a temple where he was worshipped. All around it were the tombs of dignitaries who shared the royal privileges of the other world and went on forming part of the sovereign's court forever. "May Pharaoh deign to grant a favor; may Anubis deign to grant a favor," was the double formula for prayer in the time of the Old Empire and, as Sainte Fare Garnot has pointed out, the similarity of the two invocations underlines the common nature and functions of Pharaoh and the other gods.

All Egypt owed this god on earth its profound gratitude. Praises were sung to the fountain of riches and justice in this world and the giver of life in the next. "Adore King Nimaatre [Amenemhet III] may he live forever within

your heart; may His Majesty be always in your thoughts," advised one grand dignitary, Sehetepibre. "It is the god Sia who is in your heart of hearts; his eyes sound all breasts. It is the god Ra, whose rays give light for us to see by. He fills the Two-Earths with more light than the very sun's orb, he makes the [land] more green than the Nile in flood, and the Two-Earths overflow with strength and life. His nostrils chill the air when he is angry; when he is calm, we can breathe once more... A goddess Bastet protects the Two-Earths; he who respects them, his arm will defend him; he is a Sekhmet for whomsoever has transgressed his order; he whom he detests will live in hardship. Never dare to go against him..."

AROUND 260 B.C., Manetho, an Egyptian priest contemporary with Ptolemy II, divided the Pharaohs into thirty-one dynasties. It is his convenient method that is still used by most modern historians, with a few slight changes, to classify the many sovereigns who succeeded one another for three thousand years.

The history of Egypt begins with the union of the Two-Earths. Attempted a first time by the king known as the "Scorpion King," it was finally achieved by the prince traditionally known as Menes who is considered as the first Pharaoh. Menes is probably the Narmerza discovered by archaeologists. The fine engraved shale where his name was found shows him in the form of a bull over an outstretched enemy, destroying the crenelated walls of a town with his horns. In other pictures he is in human form, brutally trampling down the inhabitants of the Delta. Violence was thus used to fulfill on earth the myths and wills of the gods, as in all history.

The Egyptian "miracle" came into being at the end of the third millenary with the extraordinarily rapid expansion of a civilization founded on the agricultural development of the henceforward unified valley. The real mutation which brought Egypt from prehistoric to historic times is to be found in the progress in writing and in the process of organization of a rigorously hierarchical society—two phenomena probably closely allied. Writing, which allowed orders to be transmitted to a distance and set down permanently, could enslave, however, as well as liberate. Exactly how the Pharaohs came to power is not known. Right from the beginning of the first dynasty there was one and only one sovereign, a god-king who had the entire life of the country in his hands; royal officials dealt with the provinces in his name. The major task of the centralized power was the organization of the waters

of the Nile for drainage, irrigation and canals. As Napoleon said, "In Egypt, the government has an immediate influence on the height of the flood." Nevertheless, local differences persisted even under the supreme authority of Pharaoh; independent and even hostile sects existed side by side in each district. There were differences between Upper and Lower Egypt all down the centuries.

Little is known as yet of these early times in the history of Egypt. A stone block in the museum of Palermo gives some annals of these early kings. Feasts, expeditions, constructions are all there; the height of the Nile's flood is given annually and the census of taxes for every two years. For the period of the first two dynasties, known as the Thinite (about 3000-2800 B.C.), excavations have brought to light quite a lot of material and several celebrated monuments, including the funerary stele of the "Serpent King" now in the Louvre in Paris; it offers a number of vague indications of political and religious unrest at the time.

Even for the great period of the Old Empire, that is to say from the IIIrd to the VIth dynasties (2800 to 2250 B.C.), the historical facts, properly speaking, that have come down to us are rare. There are large breaks in the chronology and the order of events is still very difficult to establish. The civilization of these times has nevertheless left some admirable architectural works, superb though too-rare vestiges of an austere and grandiose epoch entirely dependent on the gods and dedicated to the glory of the god who gave Egypt life, Pharaoh.

The Old Empire was essentially the period of the pyramids, that group of gigantic constructions stretching along the Libyan heights on the edge of the western desert near Memphis, a little to the south of the present city of Cairo. The pyramid of Khufu (Cheops) is a veritable man-built mountain, once more than 480 feet high, with a base 765 feet long, that is to say nearly 28,000,000 cubic feet of stone. But the pyramid is only part of a gigantic whole: beside the low-lying lands stands the temple of the valley or receiving temple; a long causeway, generally covered, climbs, at the edge of the desert, up to the funerary temple set on the eastern side of the pyramid; inside the latter or below it, is the chamber containing the sarcophagus of the deceased together with the funeral apartments, in a far from simple or uniform layout. Prestigious monuments these, that have made men dream, some even to madness. The pyramids are pre-eminently meeting places of the godly and the earthly; their whole conception is designed for a dialogue between

heaven and earth. All the secrets of their message cannot be interpreted in the great detail attempted by too many, however; most of them have not yet been thoroughly studied or even systematically investigated. Each year, new discoveries alter what has been up until now accepted and much remains to be found.

On the threshold of the Old Empire stands the terraced pyramid of Zoser. With the latter, perfection was attained all at once on a huge scale; in a single attempt, the Egyptians reached the heights of the very greatest architecture. It was not for nothing that Imhotep, the architect and minister, doctor too, of Zoser, was worshipped as a god in the Low Period. This construction is an amazing work; it is a palace, though an imaginary palace, set in eternity. There is a huge enclosure with redans round it, setting down in stone the primitive forms conceived for a mud or brick framework. There are doors, but they, too, are in stone, open or closed for ever. Inside the enclosure are all kinds of buildings, though most of the façades are to hide embankments. The pyramid, with its six layers, 197 feet high, is a gigantic staircase up to the sky. There are countless corridors and funeral apartments; the labyrinth of galleries leads to blue chambers sparkling with faience mosaics. Recently, a building of the same type begun by Sekhmet, Zoser's successor, has been discovered. The unfinished enclosure reveals the building methods under the earliest Pharaohs. On the rough, unsmoothed walls the builders' marks, in red ink, can still be seen.

The colossal pyramids of the IVth dynasty are among the great wonders of the world: "Cheops belongs to the horizon"; "Great is Chephren"; "Divine Mycerinus." There is no need to dwell on the character of geometrical necessity they produce. Four isosceles triangles on a square base converge to a point; the facing of fine stone over the enormous dressed stone is perfectly smooth; nothing could be simpler or more imposing. Their size proves the importance all Egypt attached to the safeguarding of the remains of Pharaoh, the perfect god in whom the pyramid of society finished, both in this world and the next.

No site could be more frequented than Gizeh. Yet, to the south of the pyramid of Khufu, only a few yards from excavations begun years ago, eighty-three slabs, each more than a yard long, were discovered in 1954; the first forty-two are above a kind of dry dock containing a partly dismantled wooden barque that has sailed magnificently down the centuries.

The Pharaohs of the Vth dynasty seem to have attached less importance to their own pyramids than to the great sun temples at Abusir. The rite was celebrated in the open air on a huge terrace with a kind of obelisk above made of limestone blocks. With Unas, the last sovereign of the Vth dynasty, and the kings of the VIth dynasty the pyramids became quite small. The country was poorer at the time. But religion and hope in the other world were just as much alive. The walls of the burial chamber, until this period left bare, were from now on covered with inscriptions which, with a few variations, are the same from one king to another. These are the Texts of the Pyramids, the set of formulae intended to [illegible] the deceased to live in the beyond.

Then Pepi III reigned more than ninety-four years. Come to the throne at the age of six, he died over a hundred years old; his reign is certainly the longest in universal history. By the time he reached old age the country was falling to pieces. The enormous sums devoted to the dead must have brought about the ruin of the living. The revenues from the lands given to the nobles were used for the upkeep of temples to the deceased; great donations were also made to the temples. The breaking up of the kingdom was accompanied by decentralization. The lords of principalities, or nomes, and the clergy were no longer attached to the central power except by what were really feudal links. The state lost all its revenues and troops—in a word, all its power. A time of anarchy and disturbances followed, now known as the first Intermediary Period. All down the Valley, from nome to nome, are the decorated tombs that would once have been grouped around the royal tomb. The style is provincial, the lines awkward and the workmanship poor.

With the upheaval of society, funeral rites became democratized. Great persons gave themselves the right to become Osiris after their death, like Pharaohs; after that it was the turn of ordinary people. Literature shows how deeply Egypt, so attached to its traditions, was shaken by this revolutionary period, the history of which is difficult to reconstruct without the necessary documents. "Those things have perished that were still to be seen yesterday. The land is struck down like flax that is ready for uprooting. Ah, if only men were dead and gone. Would that the country cease crying out. And there be no more tumult."

THE REVIVAL came from Upper Egypt, with the beginning of the Middle Empire, a little before 2000 B.C. The reign of the bull gave way to that of a god later to be called the ram; Montu lost his prestige to Amon. Thebes now comes into history. Although they built some huge buildings here, the sovereigns of the XIIth dynasty nevertheless actually resided in the north around Memphis, in the old tradition. They were thus near Fayum, the great oasis they had developed by diverting the Nile, to the west of the main valley. There are few edifices, as such, of this period left; they were all destroyed, or rather "re-used," in later periods. It was a common practice of the Egyptians to pull down older monuments to use the parts for the foundations of new ones.

Yet, for the Middle Empire, there is a comparatively large number of historical sources giving the succession of the various kings and the years of their reigns —royal pyramids, tombs of nobles, steles of private individuals, literary texts and epigraphic monuments of all kinds. These are so many proofs of Egypt's being rich and powerful once more at the time. History and power are inseparable in Egyptology. The reigns of the Amenemhets and the Sesostris were marked by fine achievements, both inside and outside the country. Skillful propaganda boasts of their exploits. Their glory is stamped in the beautiful statues which reveal what they looked like. They are always shown as gods, though the features are human. They make an astonishing gallery of portraits, the most moving of which were found during French excavations at Medamud. Among others is the disillusioned face of Sesostris III. "Widening its frontiers," Egypt now stretched right into Nubia, beyond the Second Cataract. On the Asian side, opened up to the Egyptians by the adventurous Sinuhe, contacts were many. Several statues of the Middle Empire have been found at Byblus and Ras-Shamra, while under the foundations of the temple of Tod in Upper Egypt, four bronze chests bearing the name of Amenemhet II were found to contain some wonderful Egeo-Asiatic gold work. Many of the craftsmen had Semitic names. Sesostris III probably made a campaign right to Sishem, in the heart of Palestine, yet a few Bedouins occasionally made their way into Egypt perfectly peacefully, their donkeys walking before them, much as did Joseph and his brothers some time later.

Once more, however, Egypt fell into ruins. The Pharaohs of the XIIIth dynasty were still fairly powerful, but a second Intermediary Period set in about which

little is known. The central authority crumbled a second time and the country was divided up once more. By 1730 B.C., all the north of the land was under the Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings." This invasion of Egypt may have been the result of the great surge forward made by the horse-breeding Indo-Europeans at the beginning of the second millenary, throughout western Asia. It is more likely, however, to have been an expansion of the Semites; Canaanite names—Jacob-Her, Anat-Her—are to be found on the interlacing scarabs of a type frequent at this period. Under the Asiatics, Egypt's splendor was dulled for something like two centuries.

REVIVAL CAME ONCE AGAIN from the south. It was the princes of Thebes who led the liberation movement. The mummy of Sekenre-Tas, found at Dair el Bahri, still bears traces of the wound received by the prince in battle. The Hyksos wanted the princes of Cush in Nubia to be their allies and trap the Thebites between them; a stele recently discovered at Karnak tells how the latter arrested their enemy's messenger on the road to the oases, after a veritable race.

Then Ahmosis, the first king of the XVIIIth dynasty, conquered Avaris, the citadel of the Hyksos, in the western Delta and pushed on right into Asia. Egypt's renewed energy did not stop at the liberation of the country; the New Empire was to extend itself far into Asia and Africa. A new imperialism now began to manifest itself and for half a millenary, from 1580 to 1085 B.C., the Empire of the Pharaohs had a decisive role in the Near East. Right from the second year of his reign, around 1530, Thutmosis I was able to declare that his kingdom extended from Tombos, in Upper Nubia, to the Euphrates, "the river that flows backwards down to the south"—for, compared with the Nile, the Euphrates does indeed run backwards.

To the south, the Third Cataract was passed and, according to recent observation, the great Sudanese steppe on the edge of the land of the black races was perhaps then reached. By the time of Thutmosis III, fifty years later, Egypt had a widespread empire in Asia and Africa. Great steles of triumph were erected.

Egypt's rapid successes are to be explained in that the Hyksos had taught them a great deal; the use of the horse and the war chariot, a new weapon, and a greater knowledge of metals, all came from Asia. The importance of officers, those of the chariots mainly, grew enormously. New crafts were born; chariot makers, saddle

makers and metal workers were needed. Horses and chariots also not only made new motifs, but developed new forms of expression of great rapidity and elegance of line. They were a wonderful source of revival for Egyptian art. Within the framework of the traditional rules, it found a movement, a liberty, until then unknown.

The reigns of Thutmosis II's successors were difficult, however, especially when the Hittites of Asia Minor became ambitious under the energetic Suppiluliuma (1388-1347 B.C.). Under Ikhnaton and Tutenkhamon, Egypt was completely absorbed by an intense religious crisis and retired from the political arena, though the general Horemheb went back to Asia. Under the XIXth dynasty, that of Seti I and Rameses II, the struggle grew to its full height. One of its major phases was the famous battle of Kadesh in 1293 B.C. If the numerous hieroglyphic inscriptions, in the poem known as that of Pentaur, on the walls of the temples of Luxor, Karnak and Abydos are to be believed, Egypt won the day. The story given at Abu Simbel, in the Rameseum and at Luxor, is also victorious. In reality, it was more probably a defensive victory in which Rameses II managed to avoid disaster and bar the way to the south to the Hittite Muwattalli; he was not able to take Kadesh, nor push on to the Euphrates. The Egyptians retreated to the south; according to Hittite sources, the local princes even had to submit to the latter. It would be an exaggeration to deny all historical value to the Egyptian versions, but there are propaganda tendencies to be found in these, and several passages are obviously borrowed from previous inscriptions. It should be understood that there is a fundamental theme underlying the story of actual events. Egyptian texts are dominated by an essentially religious and even cosmic idea; it was not possible for Pharaoh to do other than conquer, the prosperity of the land required it, it was in the natural order of things.

Not long after, Hittites and Egyptians were brought to agreement by the Assyrian menace. There are two versions of the treaty, hieroglyphic and cuneiform (1278 B.C.). A few years later, as the marriage stele shows, Rameses II made a Hittite princess one of his many wives; there may even have been two, if fragments of letter in Hittite are to be believed. But the new peace had barely been completed when all was undone by the terrible advance of the Sea Peoples, another episode in the story of Indo-European expansion. In 1230 B.C., the fifth year of the reign of

Mereneptah (the thirteenth son of Rameses II and the latter's successor), the Akaiawasha, Teresh, Lukku, Sherden and Shakalash, "all peoples of the north come from all kinds of lands," joined by the Libu and the Mashaiawasha of Libya, bore down on Egypt. They were crushed, but this was to happen a second time in the reign of Rameses III (1198-1166 B.C.).

ALL THESE BATTLES must be taken into account if the civilization of the New Empire is to be seen in its true perspective. While retaining her traditional originality, Egypt nevertheless came out of isolation; military expeditions, embassies and commercial exchanges brought the country into close and permanent contact with Asia, the Mediterranean and Africa. The great conquests led to a considerable increase of wealth and created new needs. They stimulated the development of the arts; the epic developed, alongside the great mural compositions, all to the glory of the kings.

The colossal building programs of the XVIIIth dynasty, and then of the Ramessides, cannot be explained without this expansion. All along the Nile, from the Fourth Cataract in Nubia right to the Delta, stone temple was built upon stone temple and palace upon palace — the latter in flimsier material; today most of them have disappeared.

Under the XVIIIth dynasty, tremendous works were undertaken at Thebes; grandiose ruins all around Luxor, one of the present capitals of world tourism, still tell today of the splendor of the Pharaohs. Enlarged during the centuries that followed, the dynastic temple of Amon at Karnak, with all its appurtenances, is probably the biggest excavation site in Egypt today. There is hardly a single Pharaoh of the New Empire who did not add something to the glory of Karnak. Before the immense pylons, beside the majestic ruins, the colossi of the builder-kings are still in position and the obelisks, like petrified sun rays, their long columns of hieroglyphs bearing the titles of sovereigns, are an eternal memorial to their greatness.

Over a mile further south, a sphinx—or *dromos*—lined way leads to Luxor where Amon stayed during his great annual procession. The colonnade of Amenhotep III stands out in its perfect harmony. The left bank of the Nile is the land of the dead; above is the natural pyramid of Thebes, so beautiful in its simplicity and

so majestic that it was thought of as a goddess, "she who loves silence." Along the edge of the valley stretches the line of temples, consecrated to certain forms of the gods, which are also chapels of the royal tombs. One of the most extraordinary of these is that of Queen Hatshepsut, in the circus of Dair el Bahri; long horizontal terraces, one above the other, stand out on the sheer cliffside while the chapels lie hidden in the rock. The royal tombs, properly speaking, are out of sight behind the natural pyramid which was common to all, in the celebrated ravine of the Valley of the Kings' Tombs.

It is there that the line of kings who reigned during the Great Egyptian Empire may be meditated upon. Some of them were so glorious or so reputed for their good deeds that, though already gods, they received yet another form of worship after death. Such was the case of Amenhotep I, who together with his mother, had a special cult at his tomb up until the Low Period. Not long after, another woman, Queen Hatshepsut, came to the fore; heiress to the blood, she married first her half brother, Thutmosis II, and then, after his death in 1504 B.C., his young son by a concubine, her own nephew, Thutmosis III. For more than twenty years she ruled as Pharaoh in her own right, like a man, pushing her nephew out of the way and "directing the affairs of the whole world, according to her own decisions." Later, Thutmosis III, in his hatred of Hatshepsut's memory, had her name hammered down. A great conqueror and builder on a gigantic scale, "there was nothing he did not bring to a happy end," in the words of his vizir, Rekhmire. The reign of his great-grandson, Amenhotep III (1408-1372 B.C.), saw Egyptian civilization rise to the height of its glory; the elegance, opulence, subtlety, too, and harmony of the supreme years cannot be surpassed. The reliefs in the tombs of Khaemat and Kheruef are so uplifting that further development is not to be imagined. They attain such a degree of refinement and grace that their ecstasy has a kind of anguish that almost reaches breaking point.

The Amarnian revolution followed. Much has been written about Amenhotep IV, the prognathous and adenoidal husband of the charming Nefertiti. This Pharaoh "intoxicated with the divine," banished the group of gods of whom Amon was the chief and replaced them with the solar disk of Aton whom his predecessors had already worshipped. Amenhotep renamed himself Ikhnaton, "he who is agreeable to Aton." He then left Thebes and founded a new capital, Akheton, or

the "horizon of Aton," the Tell el Amarna of today. It was a revolution in two domains, giving a new interpretation to all the old fundamental principles which nevertheless remained in place. "A mystic of the truth," Ikhnaton went to the very verge of the absurd in the exaltation of Maat, who became from then on the ideal of sincerity. The Amarnian is shown with oversized, long-drawn-out head, shrunken body, swollen abdomen and enormous thighs; the deformities and strangeness are exaggerated. It is more than realism—surrealism, rather. As Canon Drioton so aptly puts it, it is "a school of the nightmare." Yet this distorted art aimed at the essence of things; spiritual ideas are to be found in it, and it is moving, for all the distortion and horror. The Amarnian doctrine had tendencies towards universalism and naturalism. Whether it really sought liberty or not, the scenes of this reign are sunlit and some of them give off a "frenzy of joy." The king himself sang hymns to the sun, the creator and organizer of the world. In addition to the nightmarish scenes there are the charming studies made inside the harem in the company of the king, the queen and the little princesses. Much has been said about Ikhnaton, yet more than fifteen thousand stones of the period—little sandstone blocks decorated with brightly-colored, swiftly-drawn scenes from several buildings at Karnak where later sovereigns re-used them—are still unknown and even uncatalogued. Accursed king, it is written, and in truth, he was so. But several times his successors carefully rebuilt the foundations of edifices he began and raised the under layers. The case of Ikhnaton, a sick man of genius in search of the Absolute, is not yet closed.

With Tutankhamon and Horemheb a return to orthodoxy was made; the name of Aton was hammered down and the traditional models were restored. Yet the Amarnian period left its traces; Egyptian sensitivity henceforward had new accents. The beginning of the XIXth dynasty, with Seti I, saw a gigantic building program carried on with a firm hand; the gods who gave the Empire back to Egypt were the object of energetic worship. All the way from Amada in Nubia to Bubastis in the Delta, the temples were thoroughly overhauled and bear these words: "Monument restored by Seti I." At Karnak, the king went on building and decorating the vast hypostyle hall begun by Horemheb and continued by Rameses I. [illegible] grandeur and quiet simplicity distinguish the tomb of Seti I at Thebes and the [illegible] at Abydos is among the finest achievements of Egyptian art. The [illegible]

are perfect masterpieces of purity, in places somewhat monotonous in their perfection. The limestone in which they are engraved has an admirable grain and probably preserves the fine workmanship better than the sandstone of Karnak, which is crumbling. The immense last hall of the tomb of Seti I is decorated with the phases in the nocturnal journey of the solar barque, in a series of yellow and black paintings of a sober grandeur; André Lhote called it the Sistine Chapel of ancient Egypt.

After the time of Rameses II (1301-1235 B.C.), the great ruler of Asia and Africa whose name is to be found on almost every building in Egypt, the quality of artistic production tends to go down. This is probably the result of an ever increasing demand, reaching gigantic proportions, which made art almost an industry. Two defects became apparent which grew worse as time went on: the inexpressive heaviness of the colossal on the one extreme, and the mannerism ending in exaggeration and feeble affectation on the other. A number of masterpieces were nevertheless produced. Besides the traditional temples, Rameses II built six new ones in Nubia, where his own image as conqueror was particularly venerated. Rameses II was thus worshipped as sovereign and also as "Rameses, the great god" at Abu Simbel, the most imposing of all his temples. On the façade, the four enormous colossi of the seated king, cut in the sandstone of the cliff, overlook the Nile; in the great underground hall, the walls are covered with the fabulous stories of his combat, while giant figures lean on the pillars. Rameses built a residential town in the eastern Delta, near the Asian frontier, to which he attached particular importance; a poem of the period sings its beauties. Open to sea traffic, it was a stopping place on the road from Egypt to Syria. At Thebes, the funerary temple of the king is no other than the magnificent and celebrated Rameseum, about the ruins of which, it should be said in passing, nothing adequate has yet been published. The mummy of Rameses II, several times moved during disturbances of the necropolis, is well preserved. The haughty features of the glorious monarch stand out from among all the other royal mummies.

The dullness and confusion of the long period of decadence that followed seems all the greater by contrast. The successes of the New Empire were the cause of the downfall. The state was still, at bottom, an agricultural society of passive *fellahs*; but with the great conquests, a multitude of relations and officials, surrounded by

slaves of every possible origin, gathered at the court and at the [illegible] opportunity for stirring up intrigue in the harem. As [illegible] of foreign mercenaries was ready to seize the highest [illegible] a fortune and vast domains at his disposal, made haste to [illegible] system.

AS THE DECLINE SET IN, Egypt clung to [illegible]. For more than a thousand years the country went [illegible]. Dragged into the vast arena of empires and civilizations [illegible] historical upheavals, Egypt now drew back into itself and [illegible] neighbors. In spite of this decadence, several great monuments were built and more than once the old splendor seemed to shine through again. Herihor, who pushed aside Rameses XI, the last of the Ramessides, proclaimed a new order, around 1085 B.C., "the rebirth." In an attempt to bring Egypt back to the old gods who seemed to have forgotten it, this soldier set up a theocracy at Thebes with himself both king and high priest. Yet during his reign and those of his successors, there was still a Pharaoh, also high priest of Amon, who lived in the north, mainly at Tanis. Until Professor Montet's discoveries of 1939-1940 and then of 1945, of the sarcophagi in gold and silver of Pharaohs until then little or even unknown, this period for long seemed obscure, complicated and uninteresting to historians. Although these treasures, including jewels, amulets, plate and canopic vases, are in the best Egyptian tradition—and notwithstanding the fact that Sheshonk managed to take Jerusalem "in the fifth year of Rehoboam" (about 930 B.C.) and "put his hand on the treasure of the Eternal and the Kings' treasure" (Kings XIV 25-26)—that Egypt nonetheless entered into a veritable third Intermediate Period, during which the country suffered greater and greater impoverishment, is evident. The Sheshonks and Osorkons were not really Egyptians in any case, but Libyans; they descended from the Mashaiawasha chiefs, settled near Fayum, at Heracleopolis. Under the last of them the power of Egypt completely went to pieces.

The renewal came from the south again, as at the beginning of the Middle and New Empires. In the middle of the seventh century B.C., Kashta, ruler of the kingdom of Cush (which had grown up around Napata near the Fourth Cataract, north of the steppes of the Sudan), came down the Nile and settled in Upper Egypt.

the land passed [illegible]

Greek [illegible]

[illegible]

making a way through [illegible]

to [illegible] with the [illegible] Egypt [illegible]

[illegible]

made a [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Life had gone out of Egypt.

[illegible] Egypt [illegible] far off from the [illegible] of the Great Empire of the [illegible] More independent [illegible] Roman rule, Egypt [illegible] are indeed [illegible]

These [illegible] better state of preservation than the [illegible] than the latter [illegible] Egyptian religion [illegible] of writings, with [illegible] learned [illegible] schools of theology. [illegible] of the [illegible] the Oasis of Kharga [illegible] a temple was built to [illegible] names of [illegible] desert. Further [illegible] precious proof of the [illegible] in the temple of [illegible] often neglected [illegible] the Sahara. [illegible] in the relief [illegible] affectation [illegible] worked to the glory of [illegible] nearly two [illegible] Hathor [illegible] the dynastic falcon god [illegible] Ptolemies to [illegible] place; all the [illegible] temple to [illegible] building or [illegible] at Kom Ombo. The temples at Thebes were also [illegible]

Egypt was so bound up in its Pharaonic institutions that every conqueror—Persian, Macedonian and then Roman—was obliged to appear as a Pharaoh. The Darius, Ptolemies and Caesars all occupied the throne of Horus and wore the pschent and other crowns; holding the royal attributes, scepter and flagellum, they did homage to the gods and made sacrifice according to the thousand-year-old rites. Caesarion, the son of Cleopatra and Caesar, was fed by Hathor, the goddess of Dendera; there were once bas-reliefs at Armant tracing back his divine birth. Only Hadrian, Septimius Severus and Caracalla came to Egypt; yet, according to the traditional theory, it was the right and bounden duty of each of the Caesars to have himself shown accomplishing his task of king-priest to the gods of Egypt.

In return, the crises of the Late Roman Empire had consequences as far as the temples of Upper Egypt. The images of Pharaoh and the cartouches of Geta at Esna were hammered down by Caracalla, his brother and enemy; those of Phillip the Arab were destroyed by Decius. Hieroglyphic writings were engraved under Diocletian (284-305) and Maximinus Daia—who may still be considered as Roman Pharaohs—right up to Theodosius, in August, 394, not long after the proclamation of severe measures against paganism in Egypt. Christianity from then on had won the day, although for long after resistance went on. By the time eastern and western empires separated, *the Egypt of the Pharaohs, in all its forms, had already ceased to* exist.

Nothing is easier to make than a post mortem. The torpor of Egypt under its foreign masters has been much stressed. And, indeed, the Egypt of the Low Period clung desperately to its worn traditions. The great works of the past, those of Thebes and even of the Old Empire, became the only source of inspiration. Many changes nevertheless appeared and though they did not always succeed, at least they prove an effort was made. The cult of sacred animals grew up and whole species were even held as sacred. The classical authors and the Fathers of the Church do not hide their irony or indignation at these popular practices. Under one of the last Ptolemies, the crowd bore down in anger on a Roman who had killed a cat. Magic, too, grew powerful; charms and talismans were made in industrial quantities and magic recipe books were many. Yet there were still some who sincerely searched after the truth. A sage of Hermopolis, Petosiris, had the following words engraved on his tomb at the end of the fourth century B.C., a masterly study

of which has been made by M.G. Lefebvre: "If I have come to the eternal city [the necropolis], it is that I have accomplished good on earth and that my heart was pleased to follow in the path of God from my youth up to this day; during the night the spirit of God was in my conscience and from the dawn I did what He loved." The fine maxim, "Happiness and destiny are in the hand of God," is to be found in many of the papyri. Despite its more astonishing practices, Egyptian religion nevertheless reached heights worthy of the best schools. Certain passages of the Psalms and Proverbs are not without some resemblance to the Wisdom and Hymns of the priests and scribes of the Nile. There is almost an idea of the Messiah in the sufferer identified with the god-victim seen as savior of the world; Osiris and Horus promised triumph over evil and death. Another direction was taken by the ruling classes, judging from their biographical inscriptions, which have curiously rational trends, in some cases going almost as far as an exclusively moral rule. As history grew more and more detached from theory, the monarchy was seen as a purely earthly creation; Pharaoh was no longer a god and had to obey a divine law outside himself. This meeting of the spiritual and the reasonable, so reminiscent of the Renaissance, is a very long way from what is generally thought of the Egypt of the Low Period.

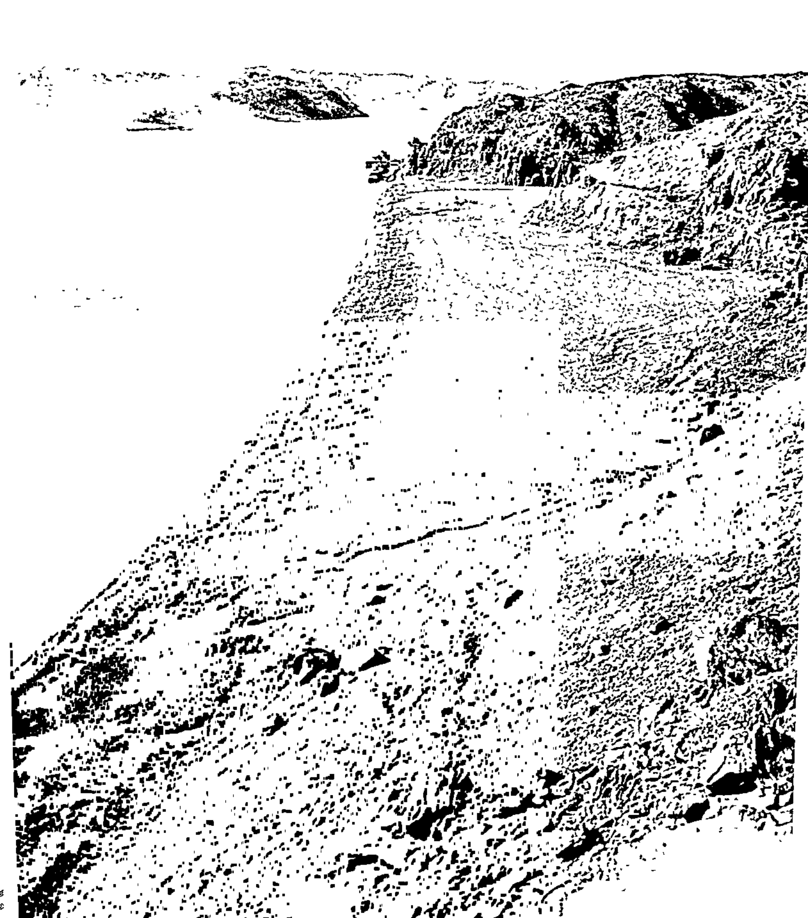
AS WE LEAVE the footsteps of the Pharaohs, some may regret to have seen so little of the workaday Egypt of the living, the men in the fields or at their crafts and the crowds rejoicing on feast days. But "in the steps of the Pharaohs," to use the beautiful phrase of the Old Empire, we had to "take the fine ways" and walk with the kings and the gods—in a world that is not of this earth, but of eternity. Most of our documents come from the temples or tombs; the religious perspective is the only one possible. But Egypt was not only a land of gods and mummies, even so; life was enjoyed there to the full and it boasted many charms. "Spend a happy day," say the writings; and Pharaoh himself lived in the greatest luxury.

Yet it is to the sumptuous temples, by the enormous colossi, that we instinctively look for the Egypt of the Pharaohs. For the immutable silence of all the Pharaohs of those stone reliefs and countless statues, among the ruins of Egypt and strewn across the museums of the world, tells us that the civilization of Egypt was from the beginning, and always remained, a civilization of stone. It grew up in the heart of

the stone age and, rapidly rising to the greatest heights, remained attached to these first achievements. To this deeply-rooted agricultural civilization born of the rich river soil, the ideal lay not in the promises of the future or technical progress. Metal civilizations were essentially destined to research and progress, while those of stone were to remain statuesque in their past glory, once it was established. They were content to live in the mirage of the golden age of the gods and their ancestors. Egypt was an island of extraordinary immobility in a world tied on every side to technical progress and the development of ideas. With its own exclusive cosmos to which it was connected by Pharaoh, the god-king, Egypt found its glory in its own originality. It needed no great declarations of nationalism and, more than elsewhere in ancient times, patriotism in Egypt rested on religion. Egypt was the exclusive dependency of its gods, with Pharaoh at the centre of this great framework, at once on earth and in heaven.

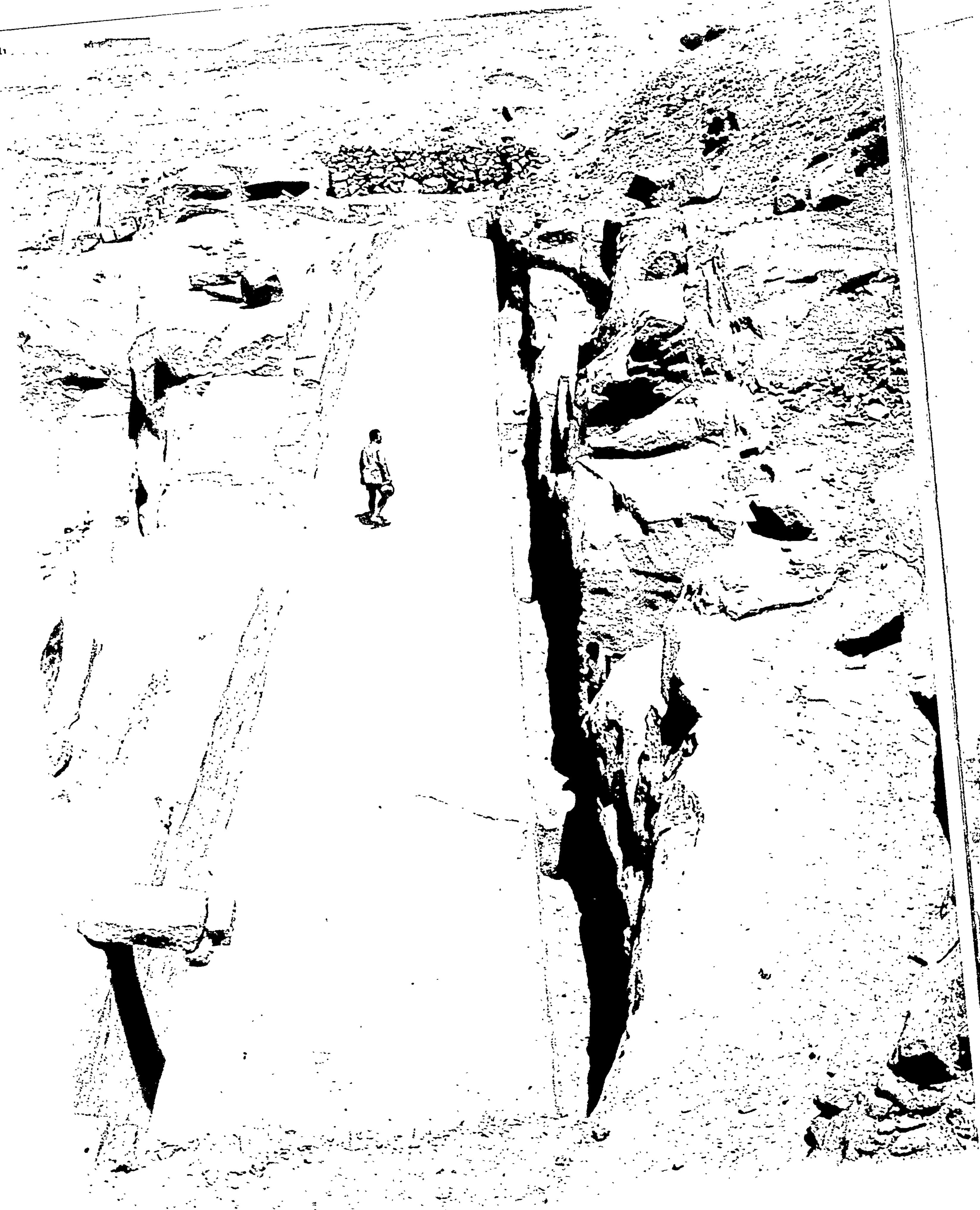
Fundamentally different, Egypt wanted, cost what it might, to remain itself, but the outside world subject to the requirements of historical evolution carried it off on the tide of progress. Set fast in its stone framework, Egypt could not free itself sufficiently to evolve and survive. Its originality made its greatness and of this very greatness it died.

Jean Leclant









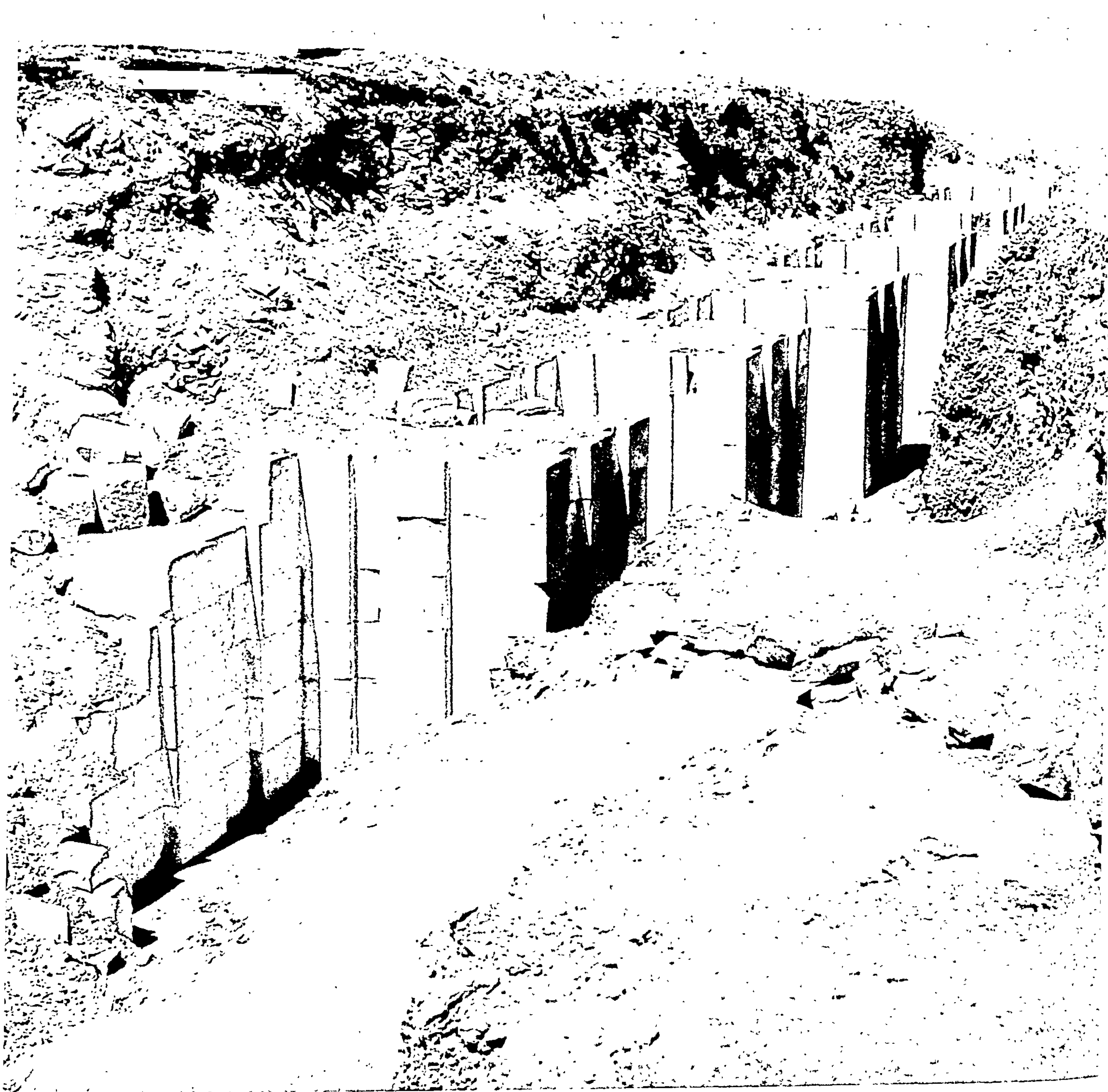


PL. I - THE PYRAMID OF KHAFRE (CHEPHREN)
SEEN FROM THE EDGE OF THE DESERT.

3 - THE QUARRIES OF ASSWAN'
UNFINISHED OBELISK
◄--



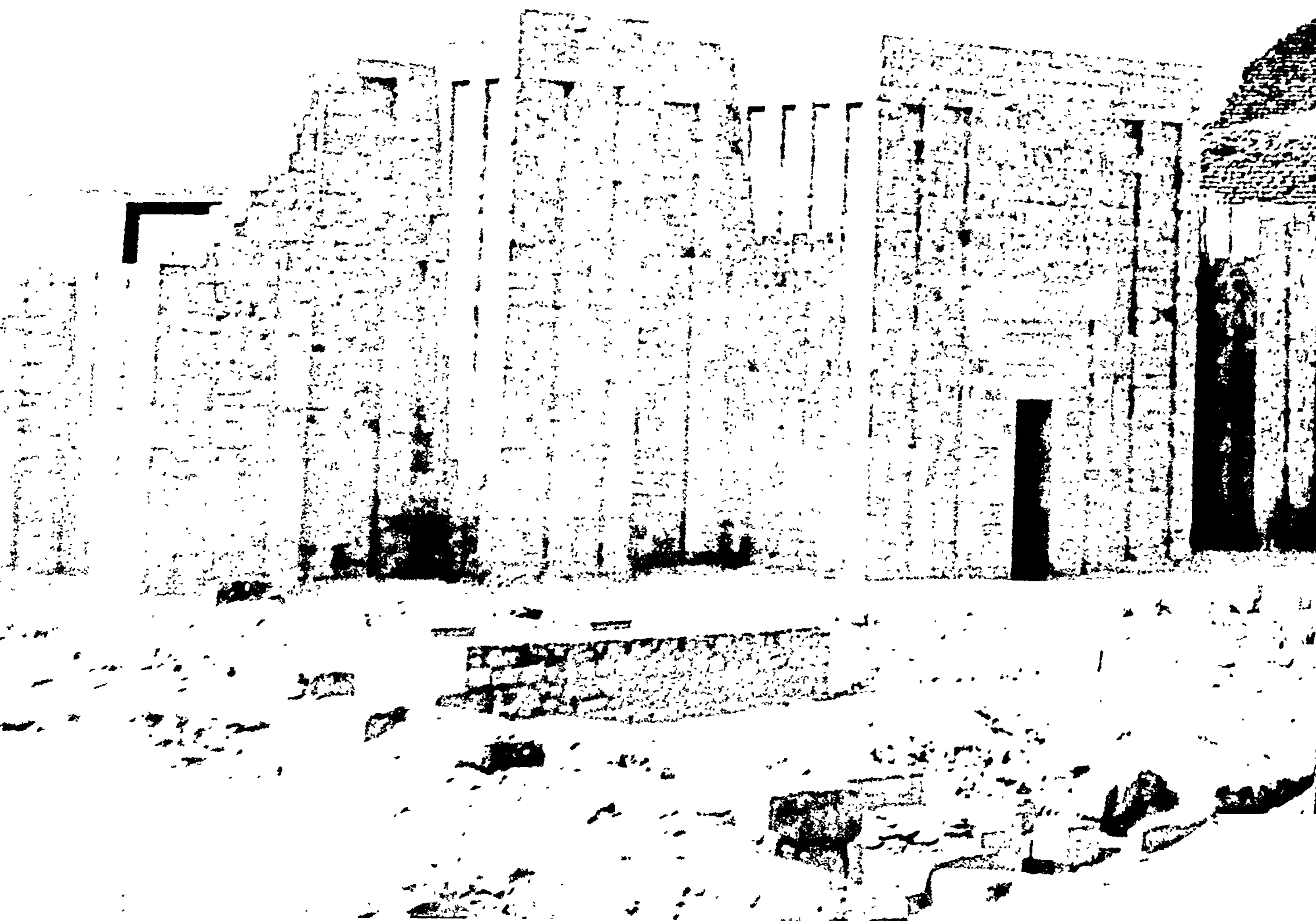
4 - SAKKARA: CORNER OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE UNFINISHED PYRAMID.

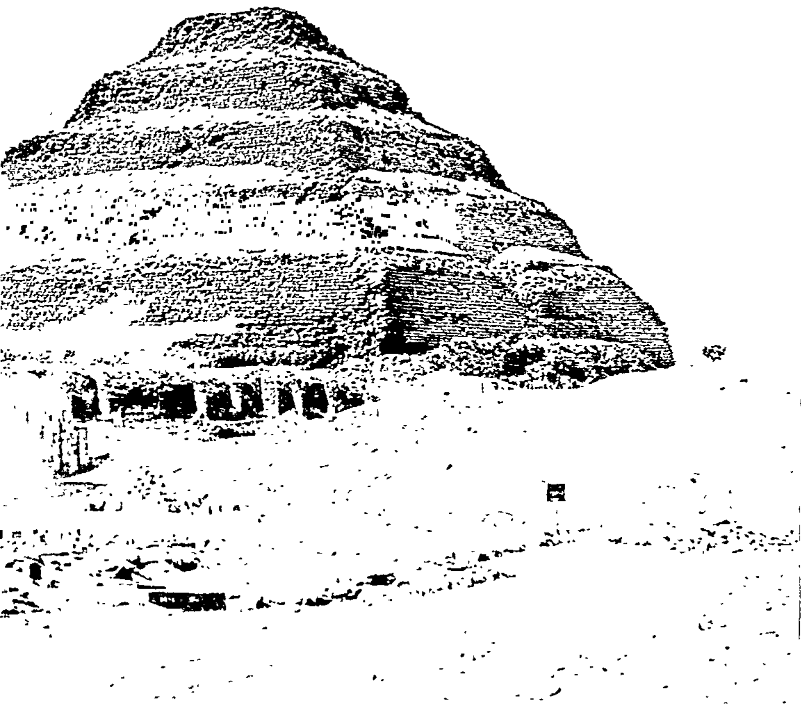


5 - SAKKARA: THE OUTSIDE WALL OF THE UNFINISHED PYRAMID.

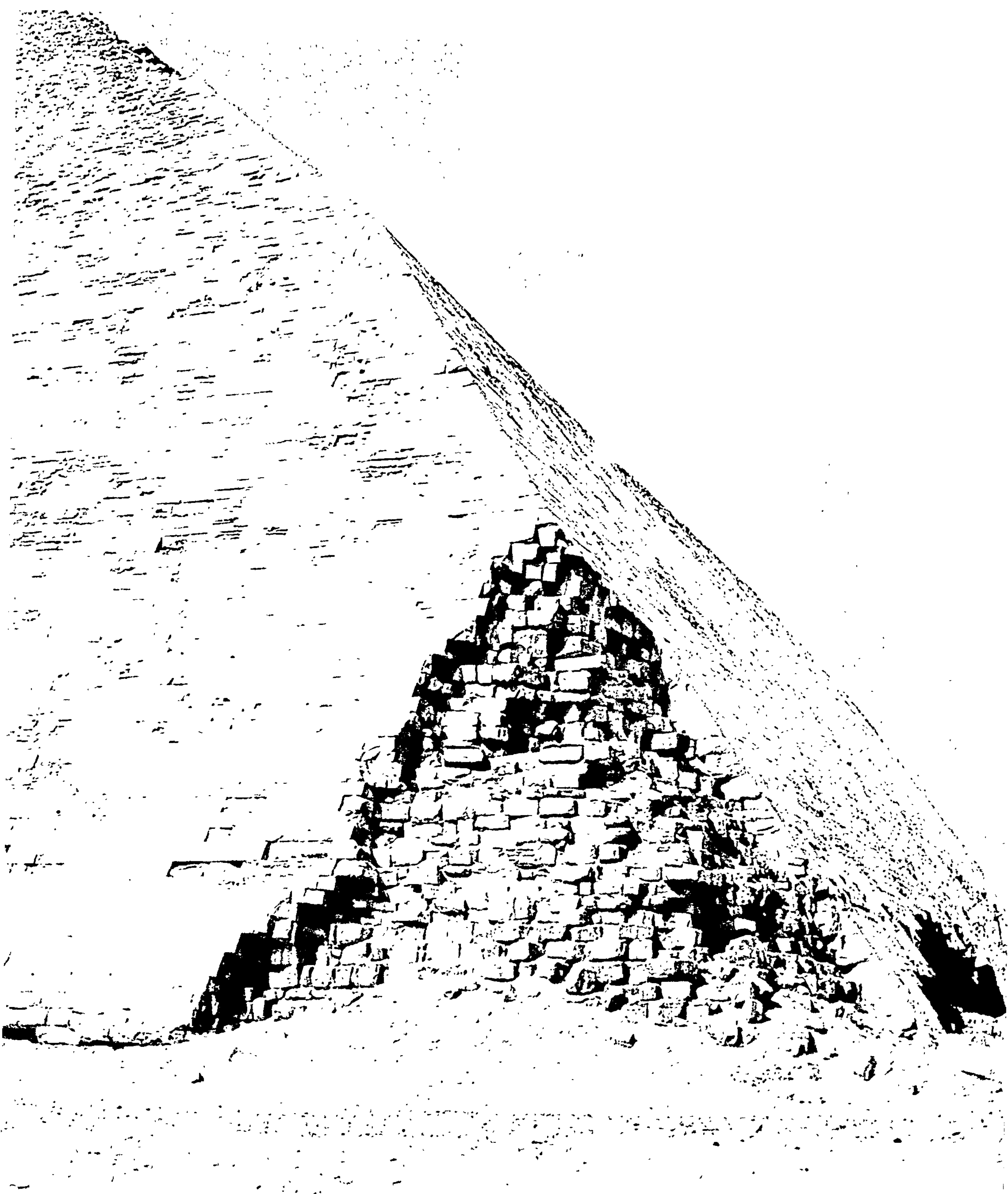


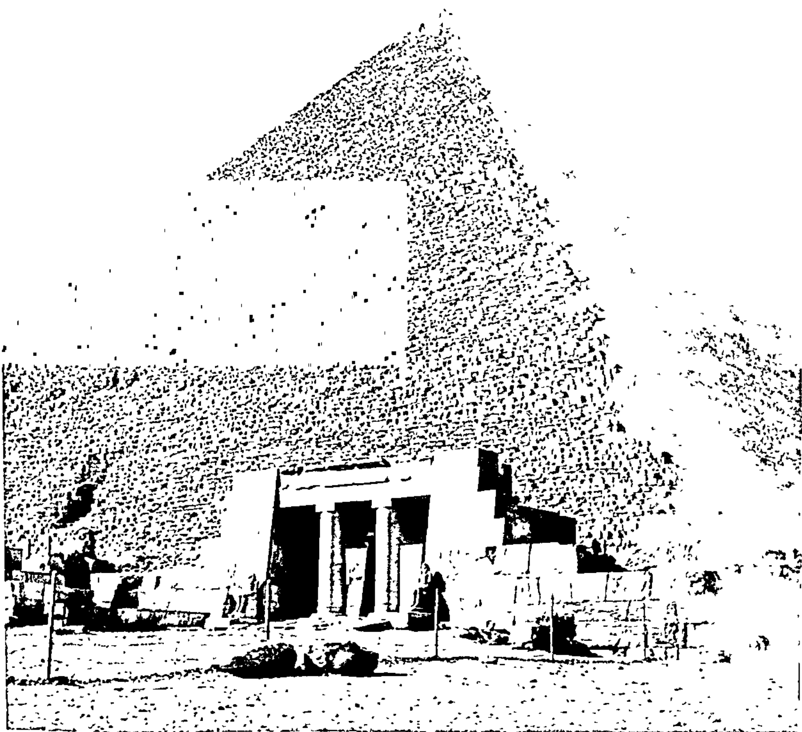
6 - SAKKARA THE ALABASTER SARCOPHAGUS.





7 - THE FUNERAL PALACE OF ZOSER AT SAKKARA·
THE OUTSIDE WALL AND THE TERRACED PYRAMID

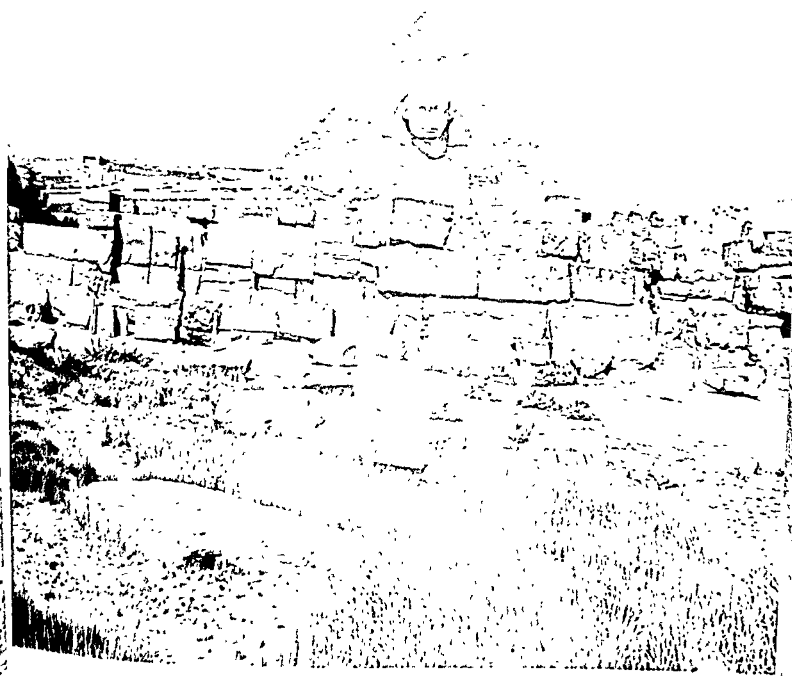




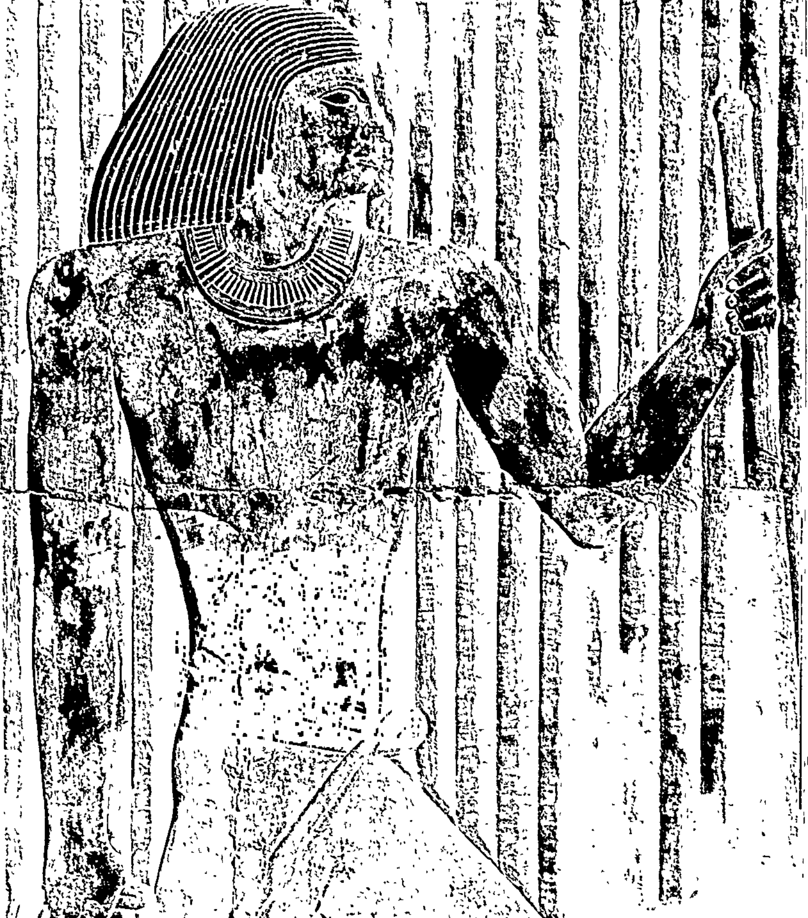
9 - GIZEH THE PYRAMID OF KHUFU (CHEOPS)
SEEN FROM THE SOUTH EAST.

8 - THE RHOMBOIDAL PYRAMID OF DAHSHUR
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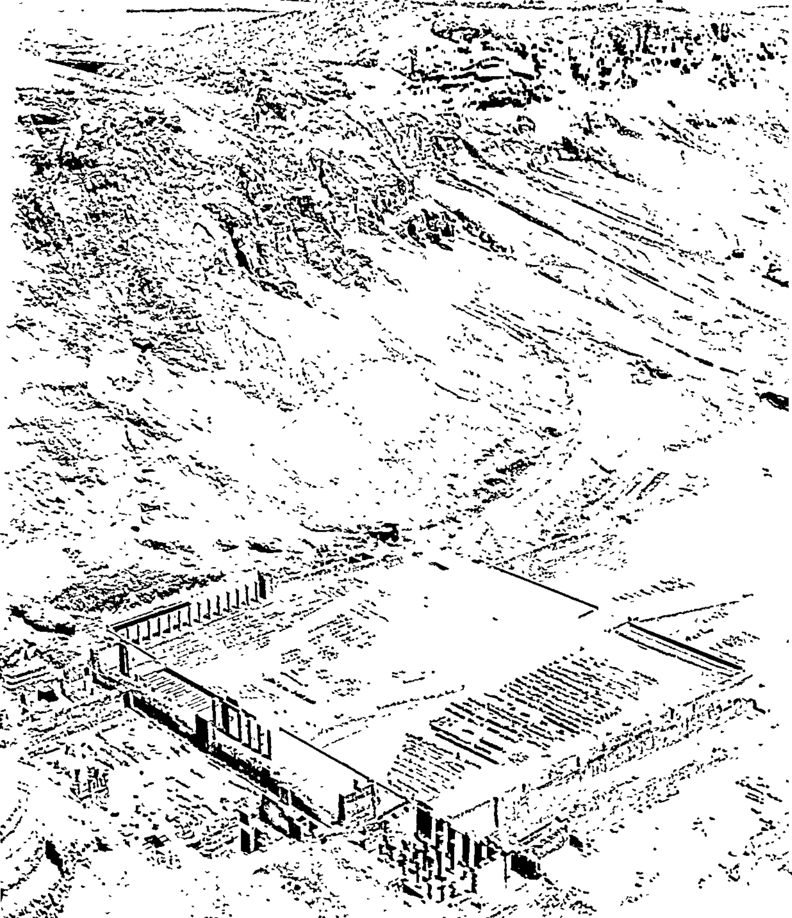
10 AND PL. 11 - GIZEH THE SPHINX AND
THE PYRAMID OF KHAFRE (



12 - KARNAK (MIDDLE-EMPIRE): SESOSTRIS I AND THE GOD MONTU.

13 - DAIR EL BAHRI: THE CLIFF CIRCLE AND THE TEMPLE OF QUEEN HATSHEPSUT.

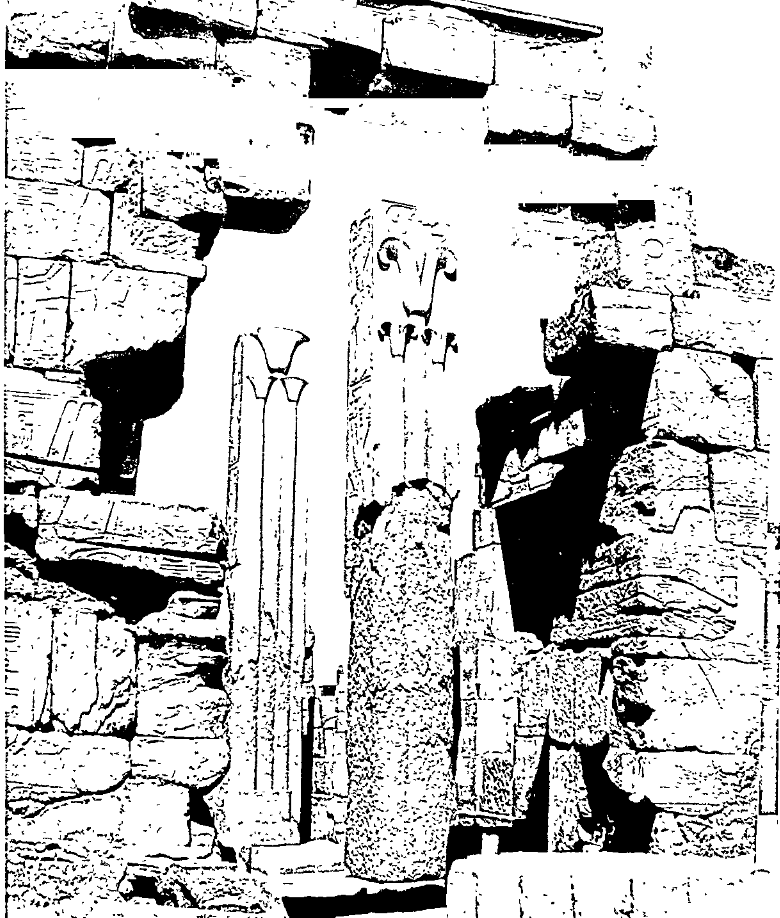






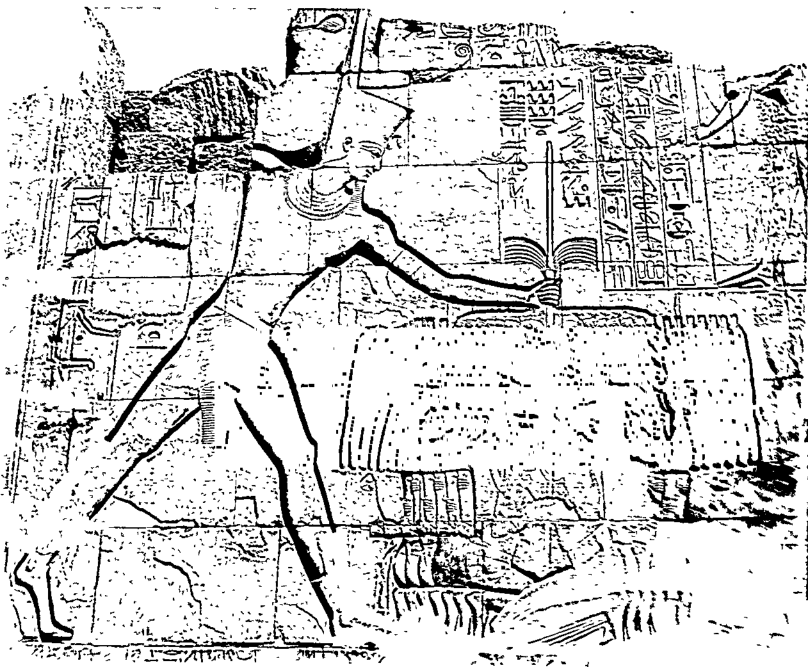
14 - THE COLOSSI OF MEMNON BATHED IN THE FLOOD WATE

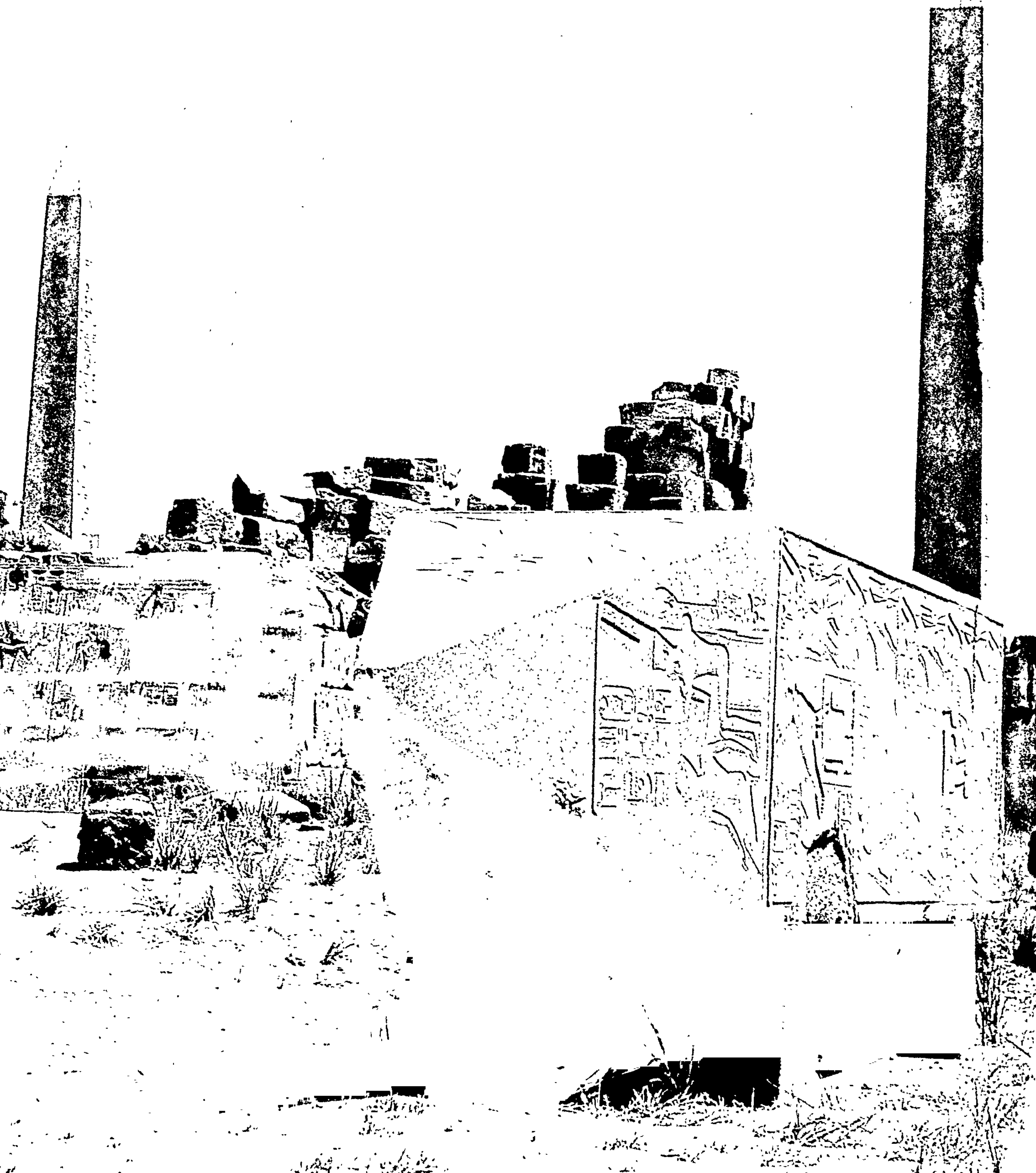
15 - TEMPLE OF KARNAK: THE HERALDIC PILLARS OF THUTMOSIS III. →

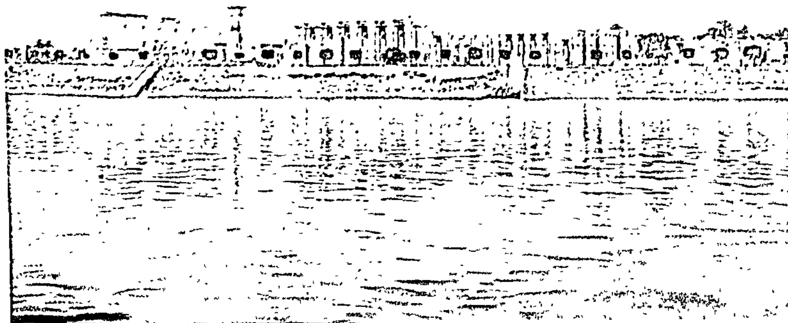




16 - TEMPLE OF KARNAK: FAÇADE OF THE VII PYLON.







PL. III - KARNAK: THE SACRED LAKE IN THE BACKGROUND, THE HYPOSTYLE HALL AND THE OBELISKS

18 - TEMPLE OF KARNAK: THE OBELISKS









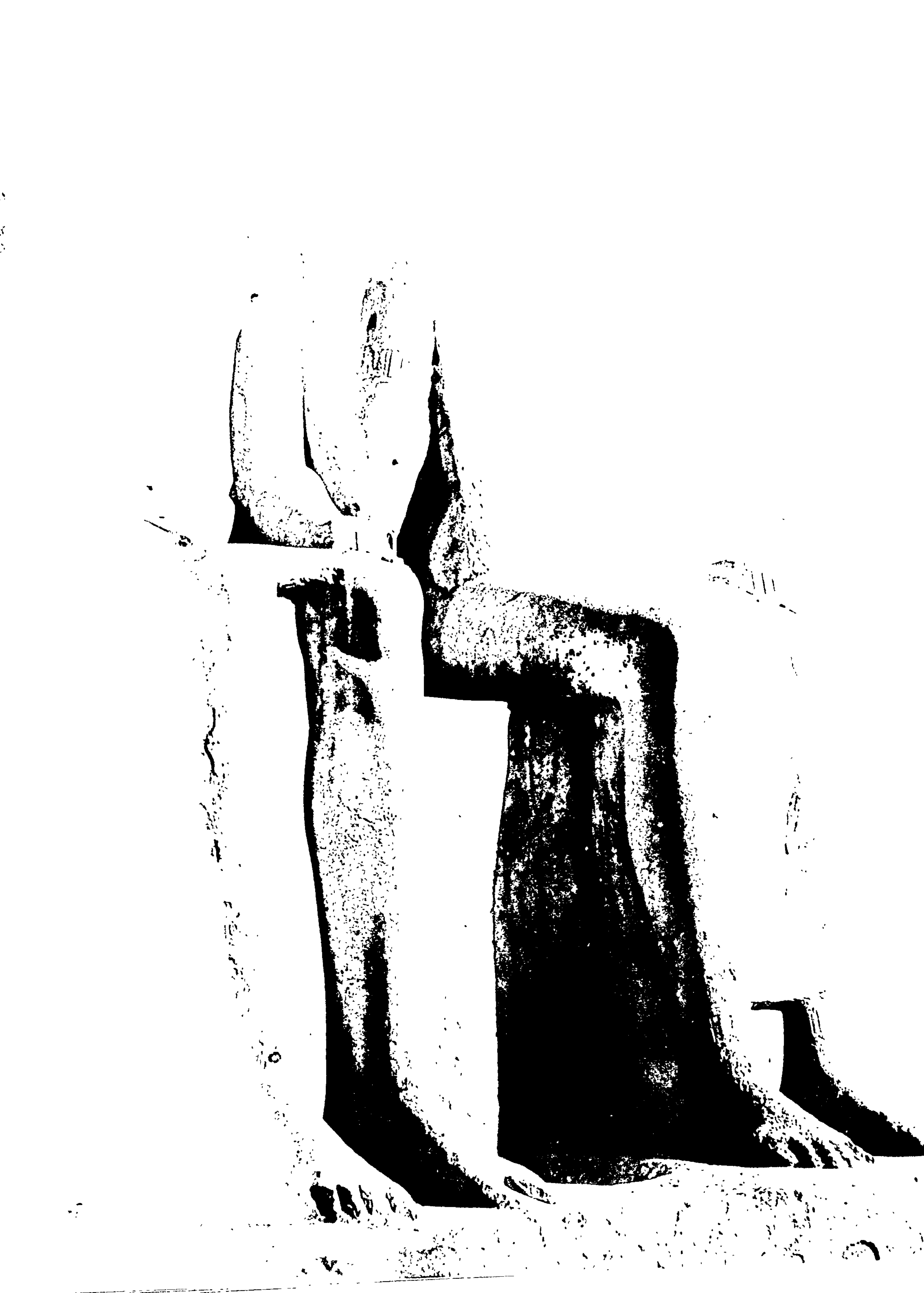


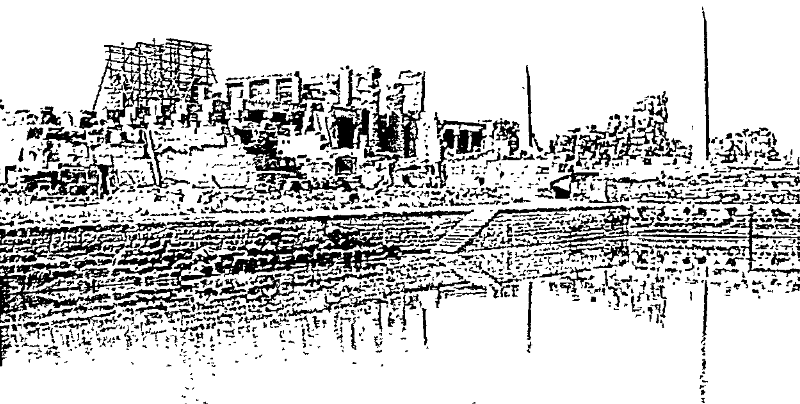
22 - TEMPLE OF KARNAK:
AMON AND HIS SPOUSE AMONET



23 AND 24 - TEMPLE OF KARNAK: COLUMNS (ABOVE)
AND CENTRAL BAY (R.) OF THE HYPOSTYLE HALL.



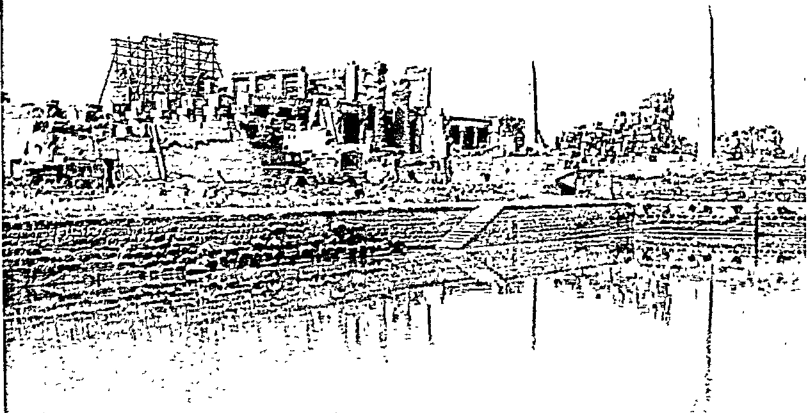




PL. IV - THE TEMPLE OF LUXOR AND THE NILE.

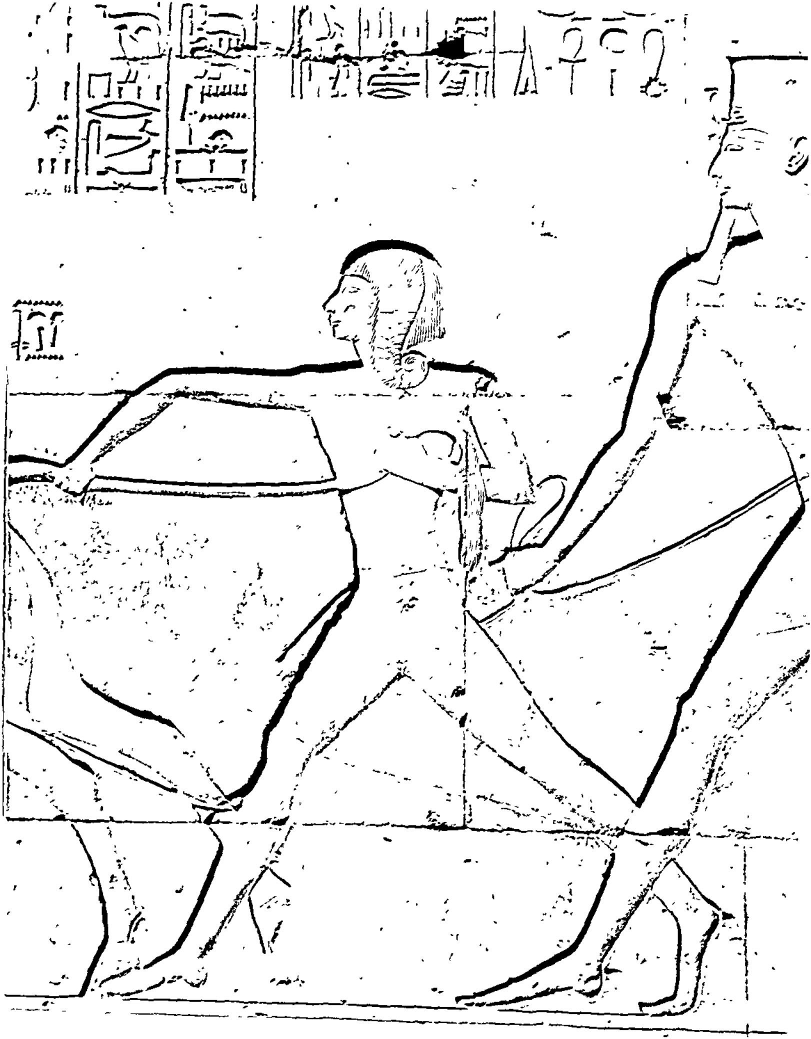
25 - TEMPLE OF LUXOR GROUP OF AMON
AND MUT, BEARING THE NAME OF RAMESES II
←





PL. IV - THE TEMPLE OF LUXOR AND THE NILE

25 - TEMPLE OF LUXOR GROUP OF AMON
AND MUT, BEARING THE NAME OF RAMESES II
←

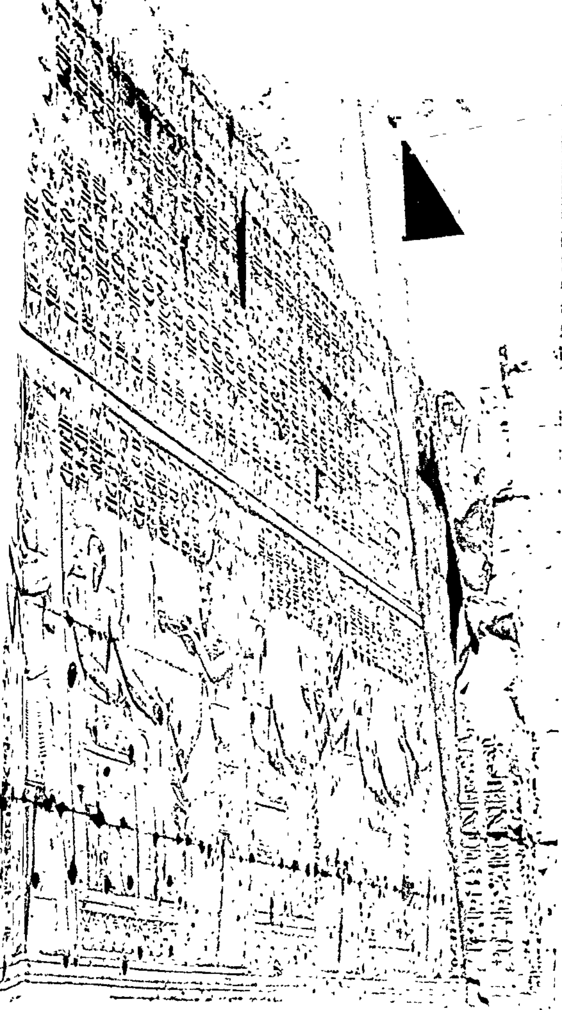




27 AND 28 - ABYDOS: ABOVE, HEAD OF A PRIEST IN THE ROLE OF HORUS IUNMUTEF; R., PORTRAIT OF THE CROWN PRINCE.



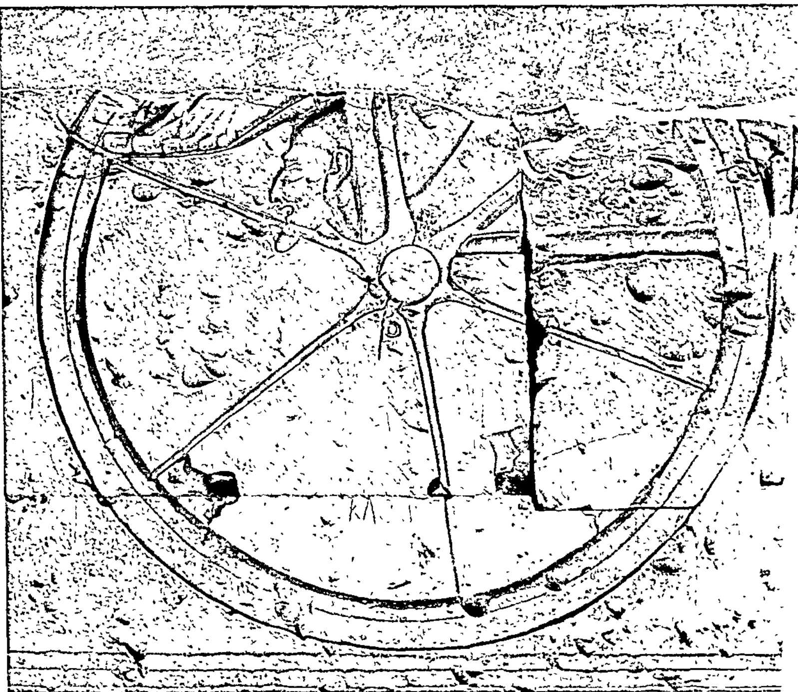




29 - TEMPLE OF ABYDOS: THE PHARAOH SETI I MAKING AN OFFERING TO THE GOD SOCHARIS.



30 - TEMPLE OF ABYDOS: VASSAL PEOPLES OF AFRICA.



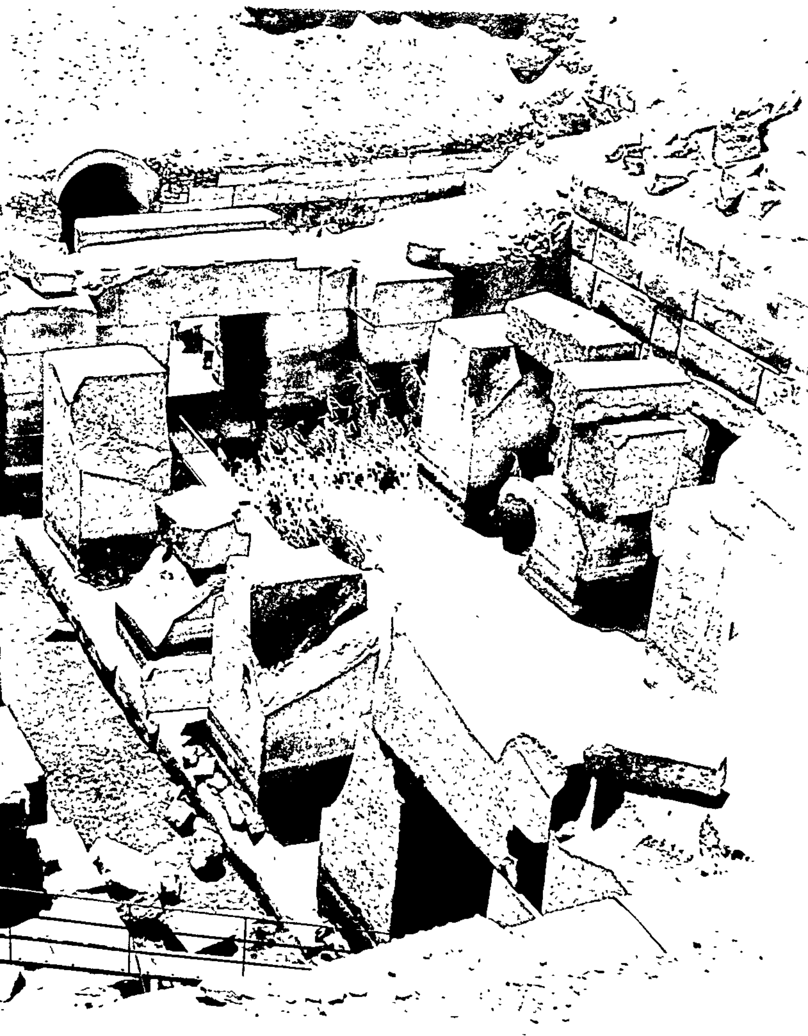
31 - TEMPLE OF SETI I AT ABYDOS
FRAGMENT OF A CHARIOT WHEEL

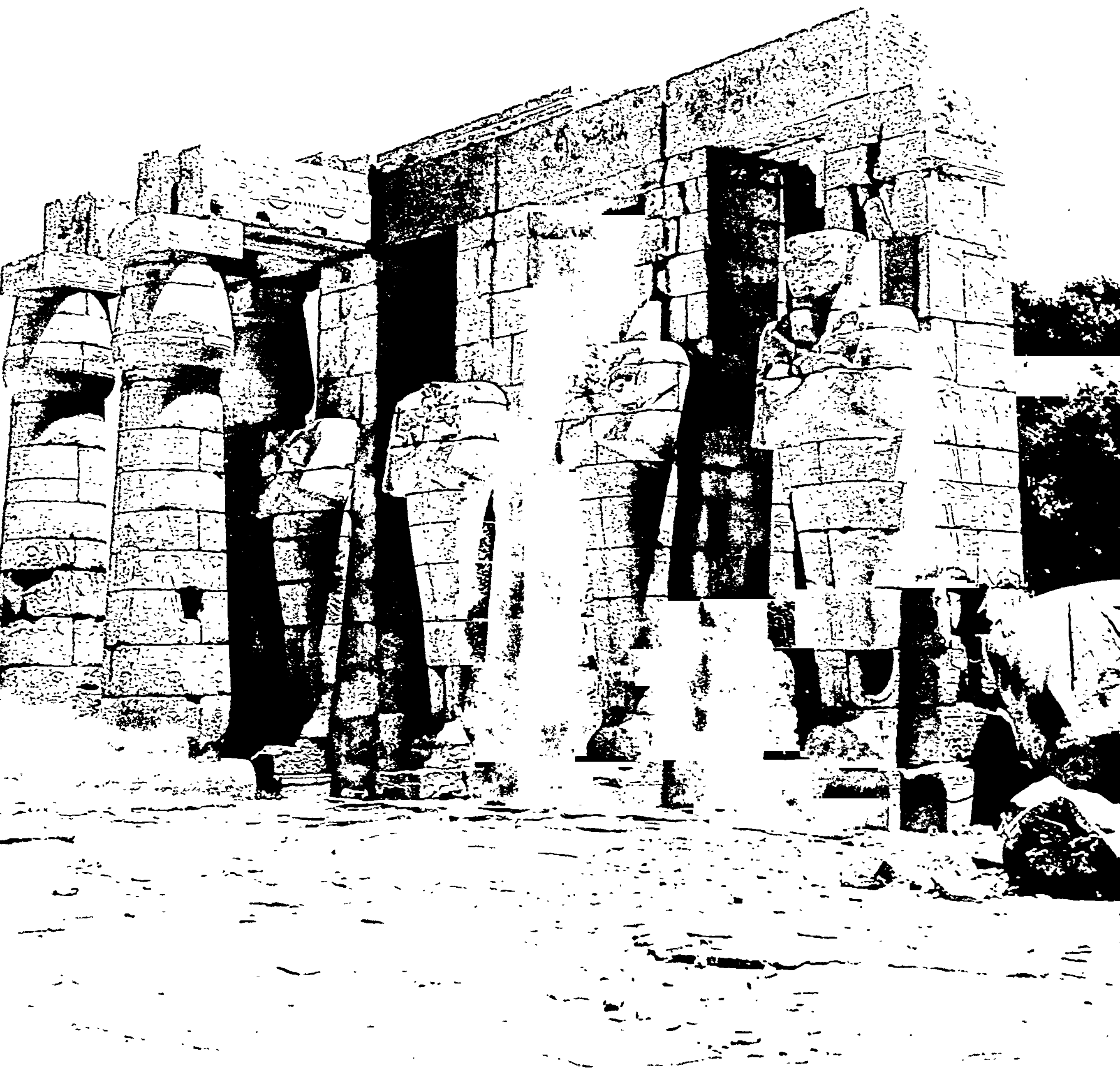


32 - TEMPLE OF SETI I AT ABYDOS:
MASSACRE OF ASIATIC ENEMIES.

PL. V - TEMPLE OF ABYDOS:
SETI I WELCOMED BY A GODDESS.
→



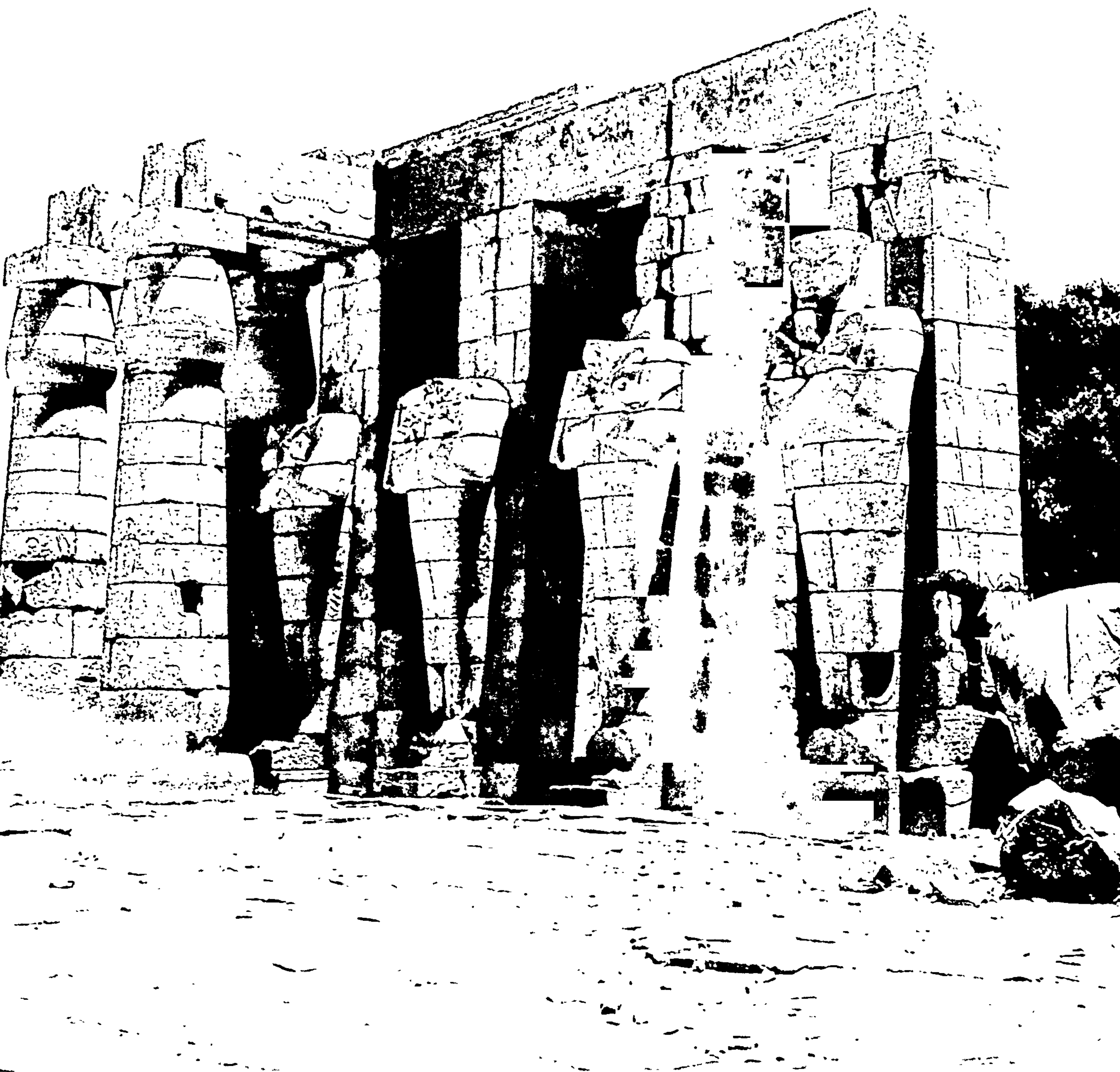




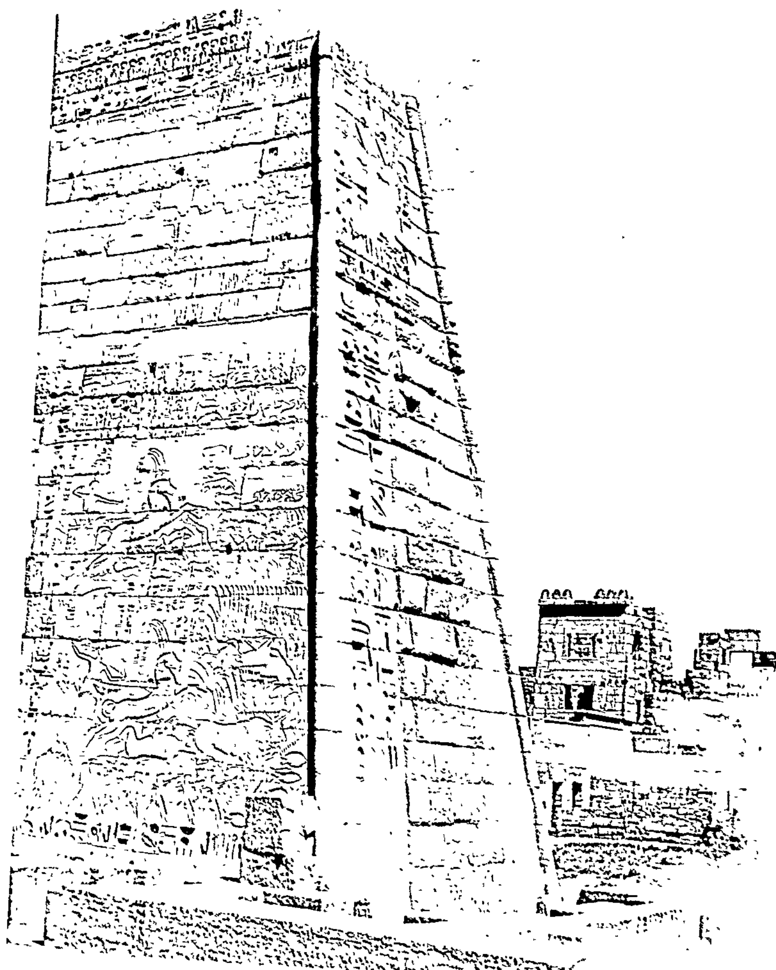
54 - THE RAMASEUM.

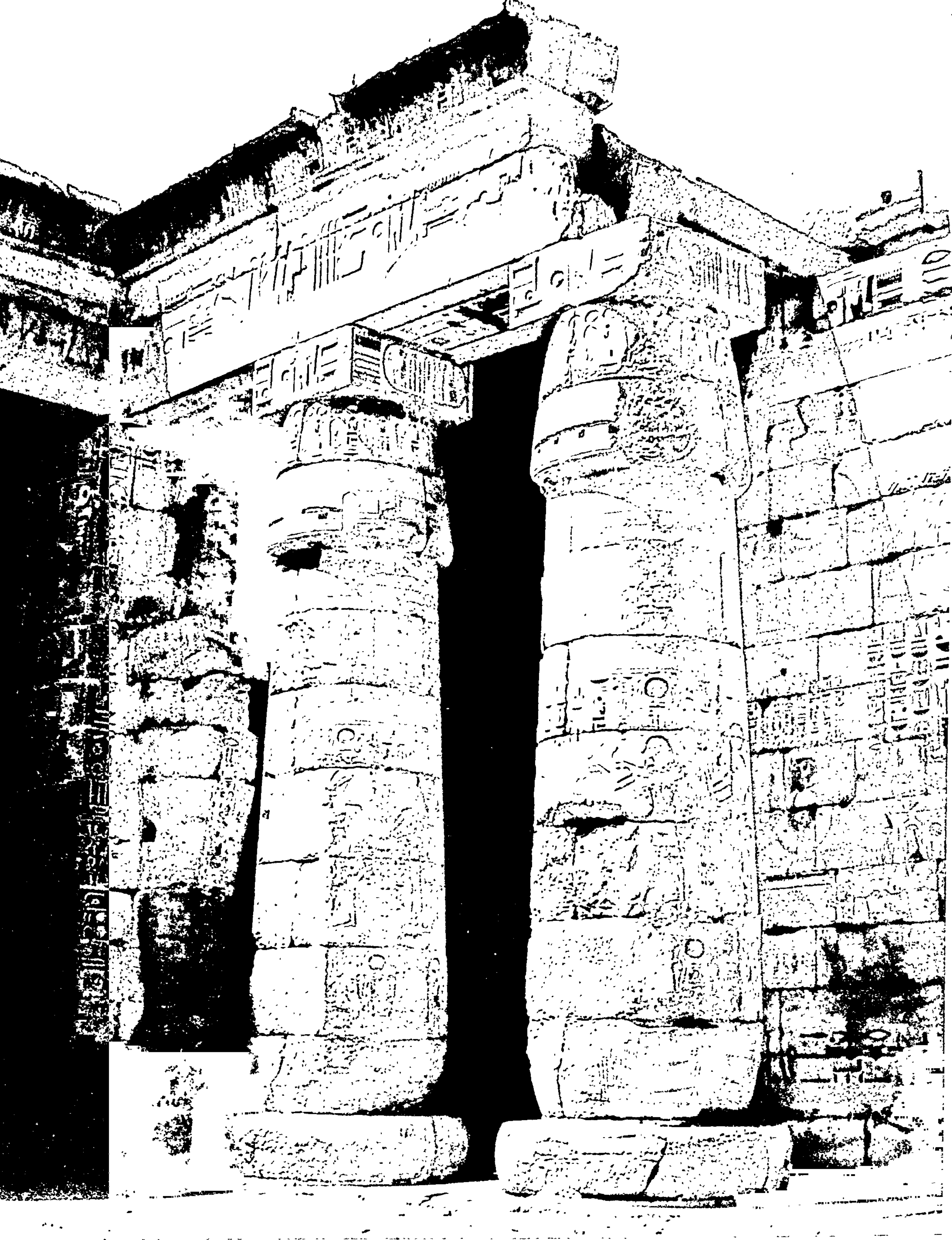


35 - THE RAMASEUM AND THE NATURAL PYRAMID OF THEBES

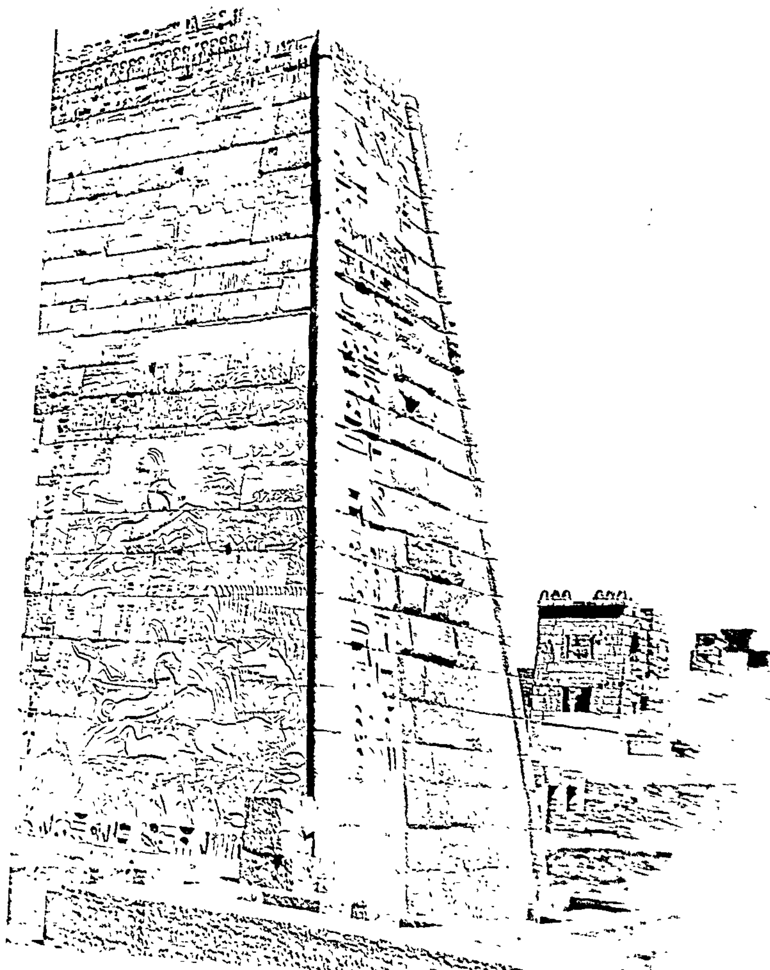


34 - THE RAMASEUM.



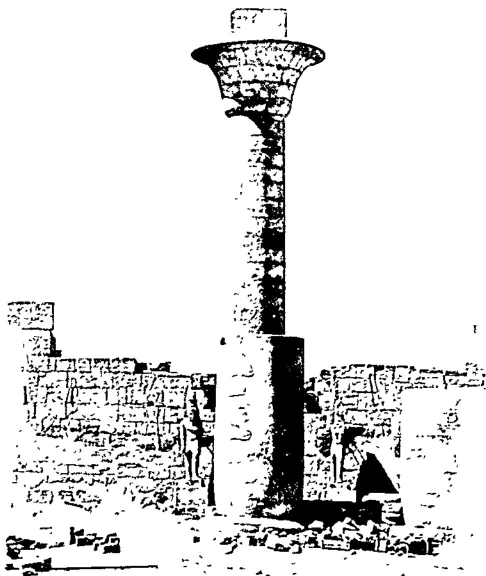


36 AND 37 - TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU: ABOVE, THE SECOND COURTYARD;
R., THE OTHER SIDE OF THE I PYLON AND THE FORTIFIED GATEWAY.





38 AND 39 - TEMPLE OF KARNAK: ABOVE, THE PHARAOH RAMESES IV;
R., THE COLONNADE OF TAHARKA.





40 - THE NATURAL PYRAMID OF THEBES SEEN FROM THE PORCH OF MONTUEMHAT.



PL. VI - THE LITTLE PRINCE AMONHERKHEPESHEF



40 - THE NATURAL PYRAMID OF THEBES SEEN FROM THE PORCH OF MONTUEMHAT.



PL. VI - THE LITTLE PRINCE AMONHERKHEPESHEF



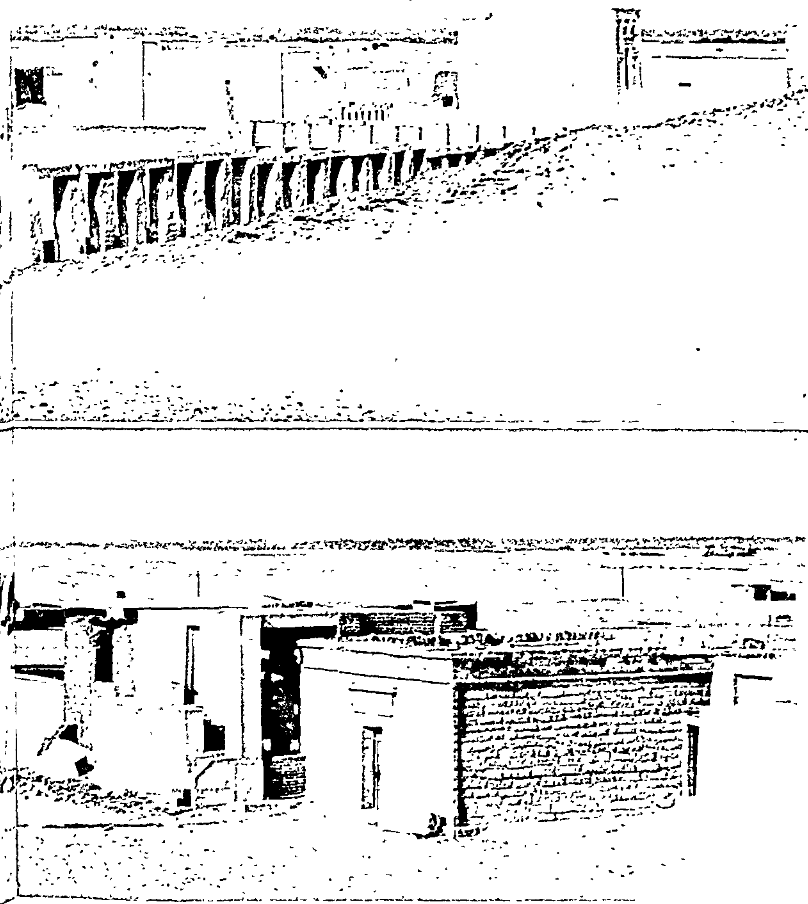
41 - KARNAK TAHARKA, PHARAOH OF THE XXV
KNOWN AS THE « ETHIOPIAN » DYNASTY



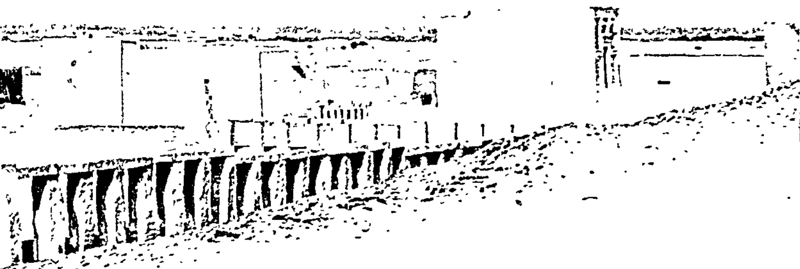
42 – KARNAK: THE DIVINE
AND THE GOD AM



43 - THE TOMB OF PETOSIRIS AT TUNAH EL GEBEL



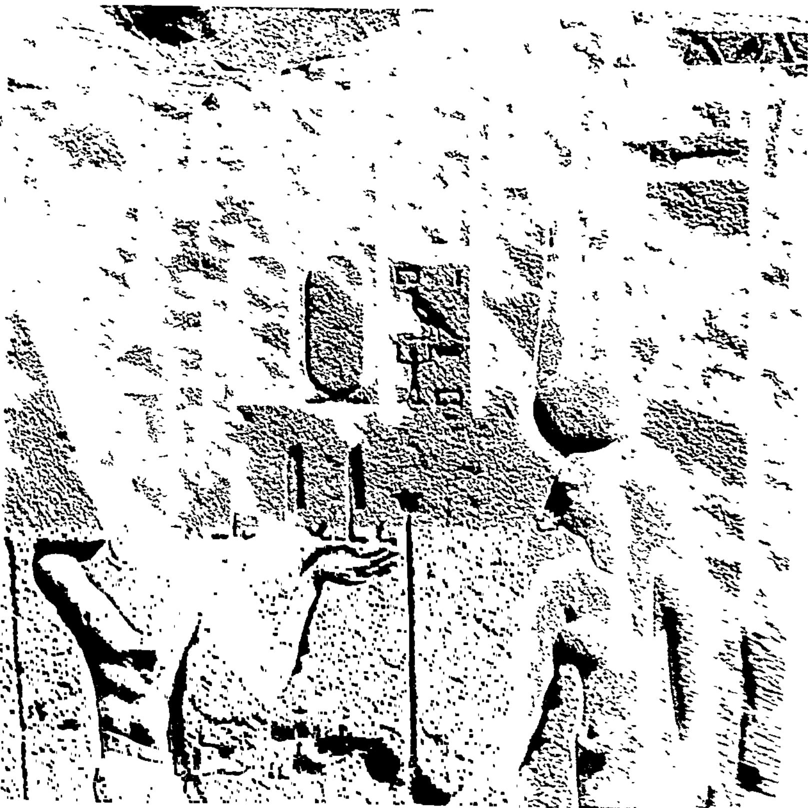
44 AND 45 TUNAH EL GEBEL
THE BALUSTRADED WALL AND THE COURTYARD OF PETOSIRIS



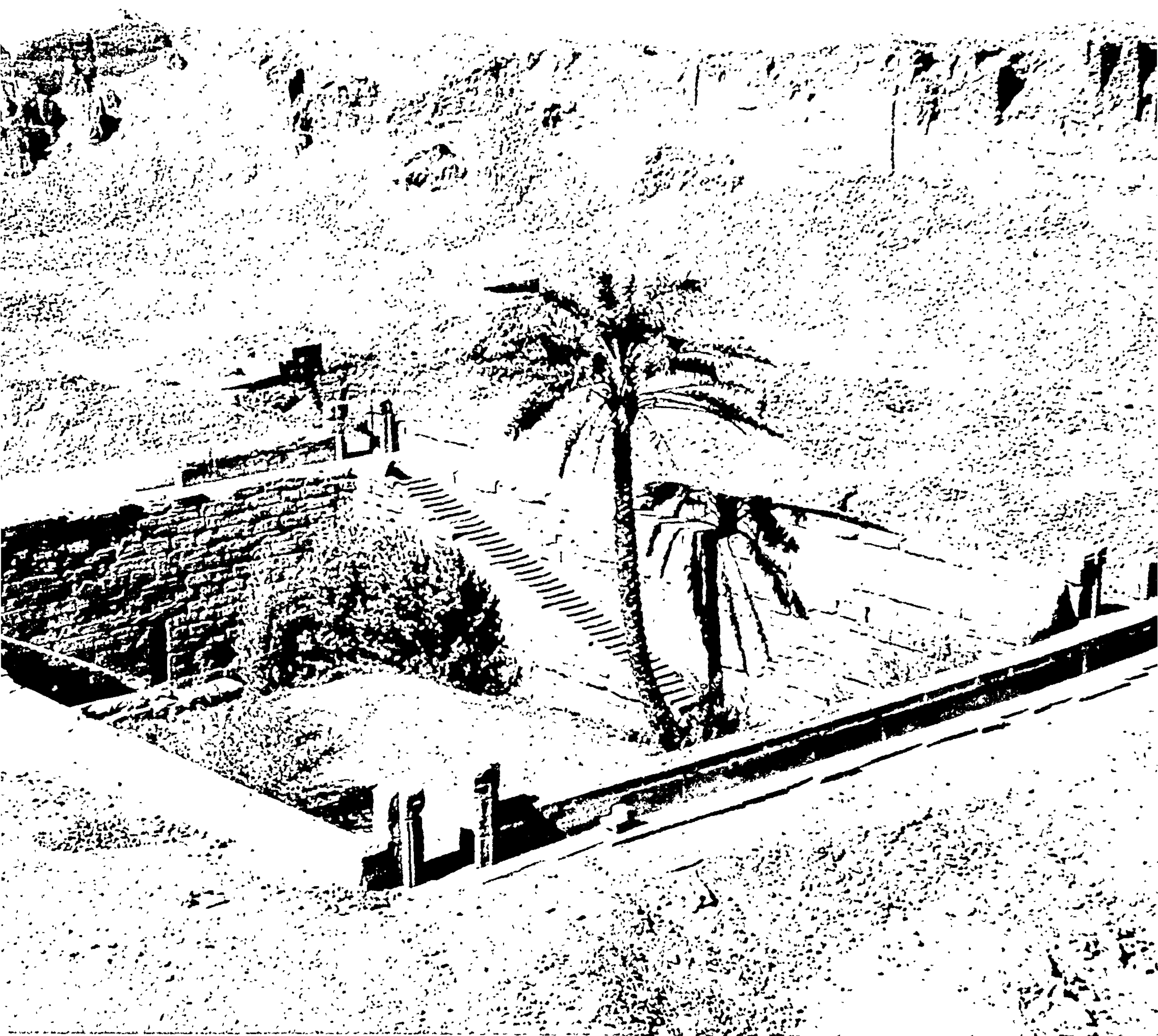
44 AND 45 - TUNAH EL GEBEL
THE BALUSTRADED WALL AND THE COURTYARD OF PETOSIRIS



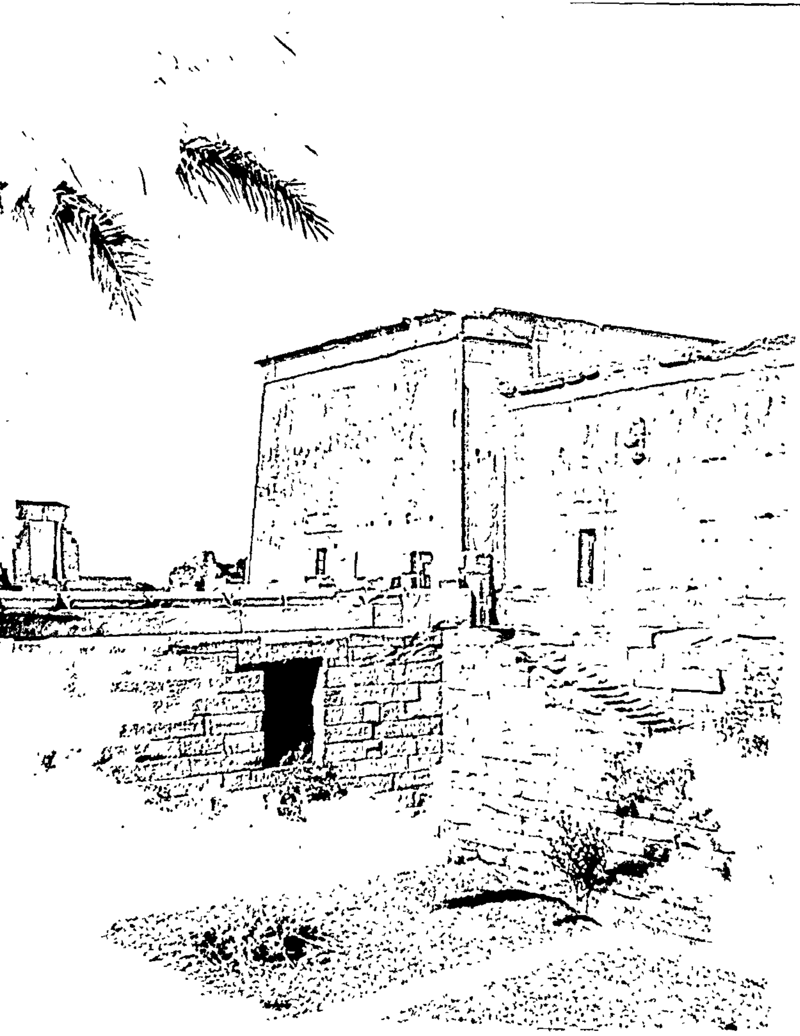
46 - BEHBEIT EL HAGAR: THE CHAOS OF GRANITE BLOCKS FROM THE ISEUM.

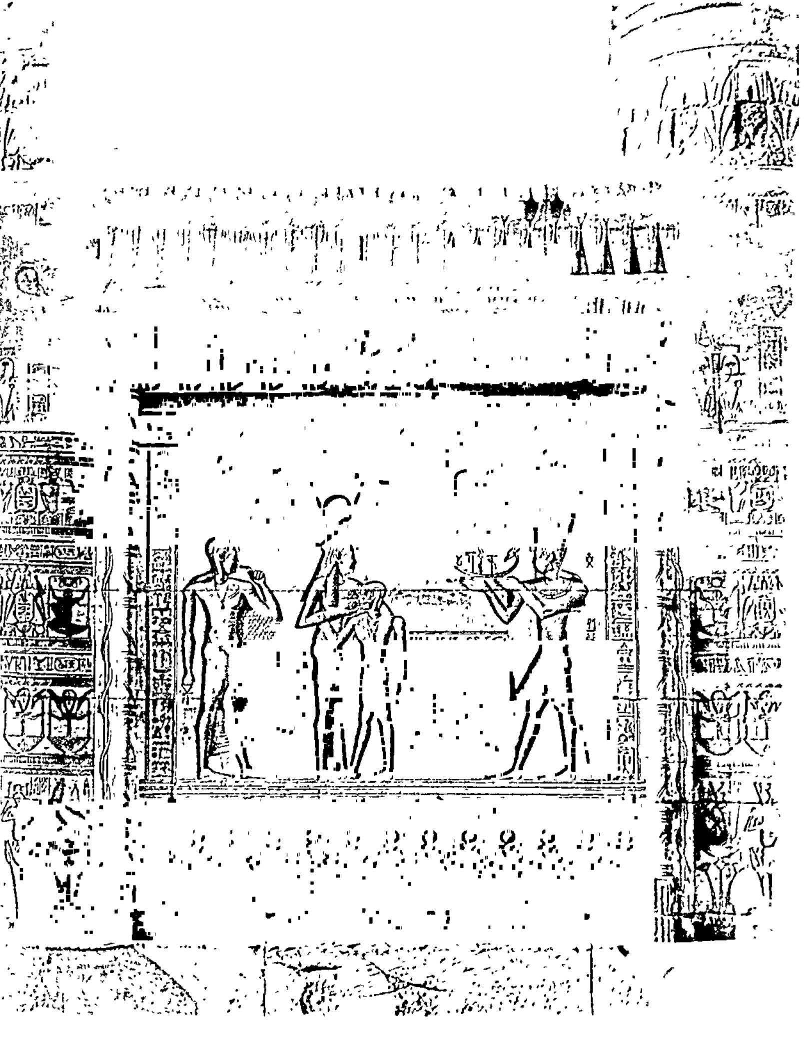


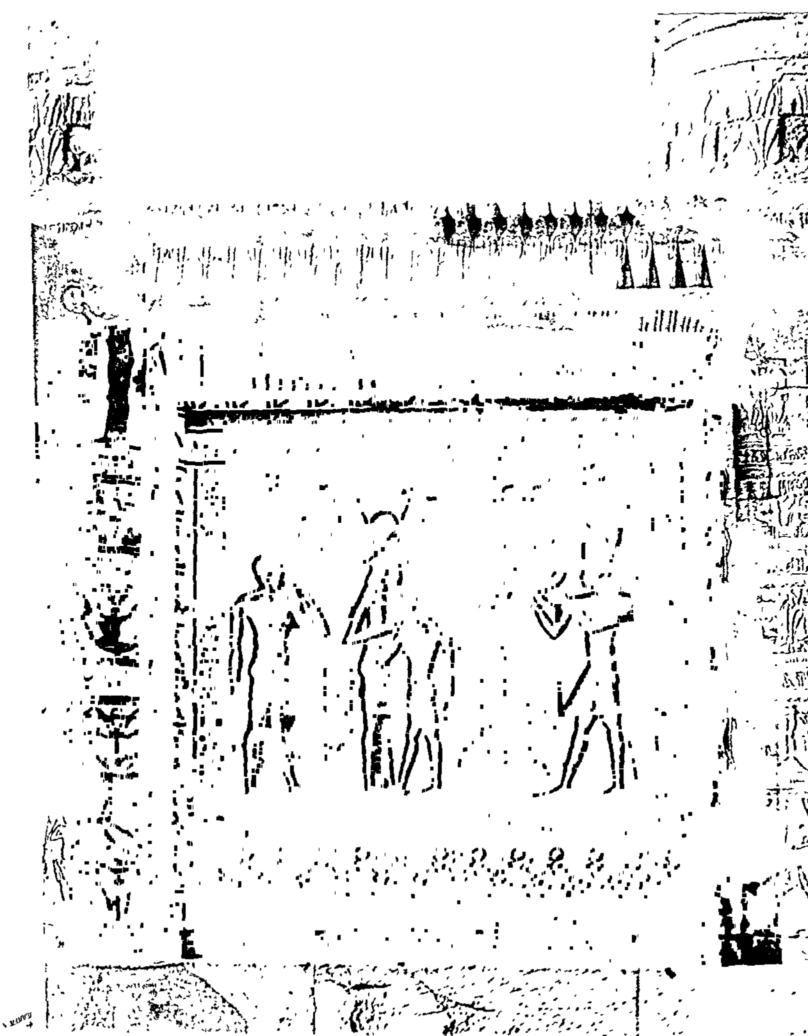
47 - BEHBEIT EL HAGAR PHARAOH
MAKING AN OFFERING TO A GODDESS



48 AND PL. VII - DENDERA: ABOVE, THE SACRED LAKE AND THE OUTSIDE WALL (IN THE BACKGROUND, THE DESERT); R., THE SACRED LAKE AND THE TEMPLE.

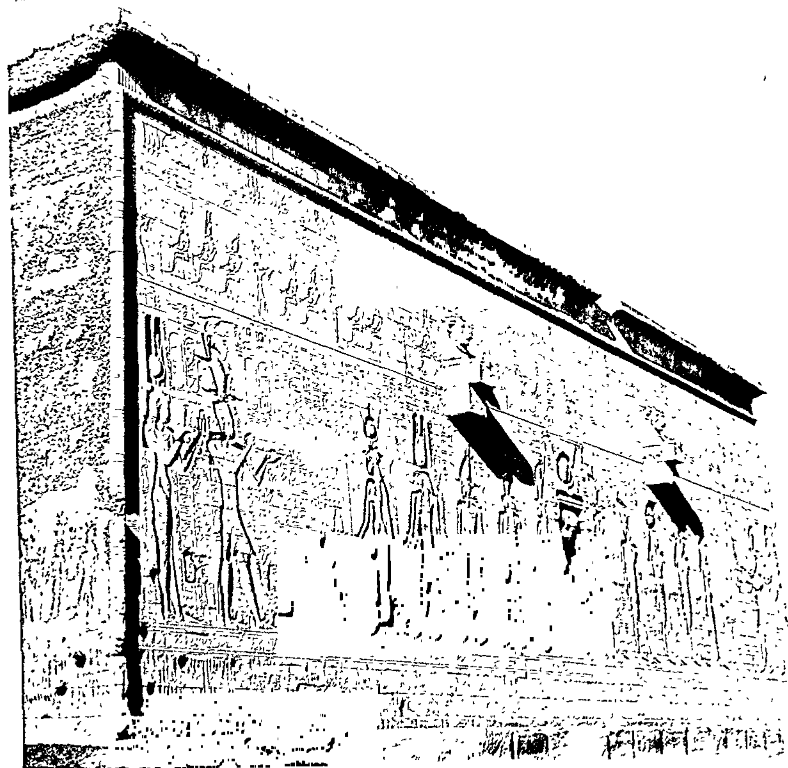




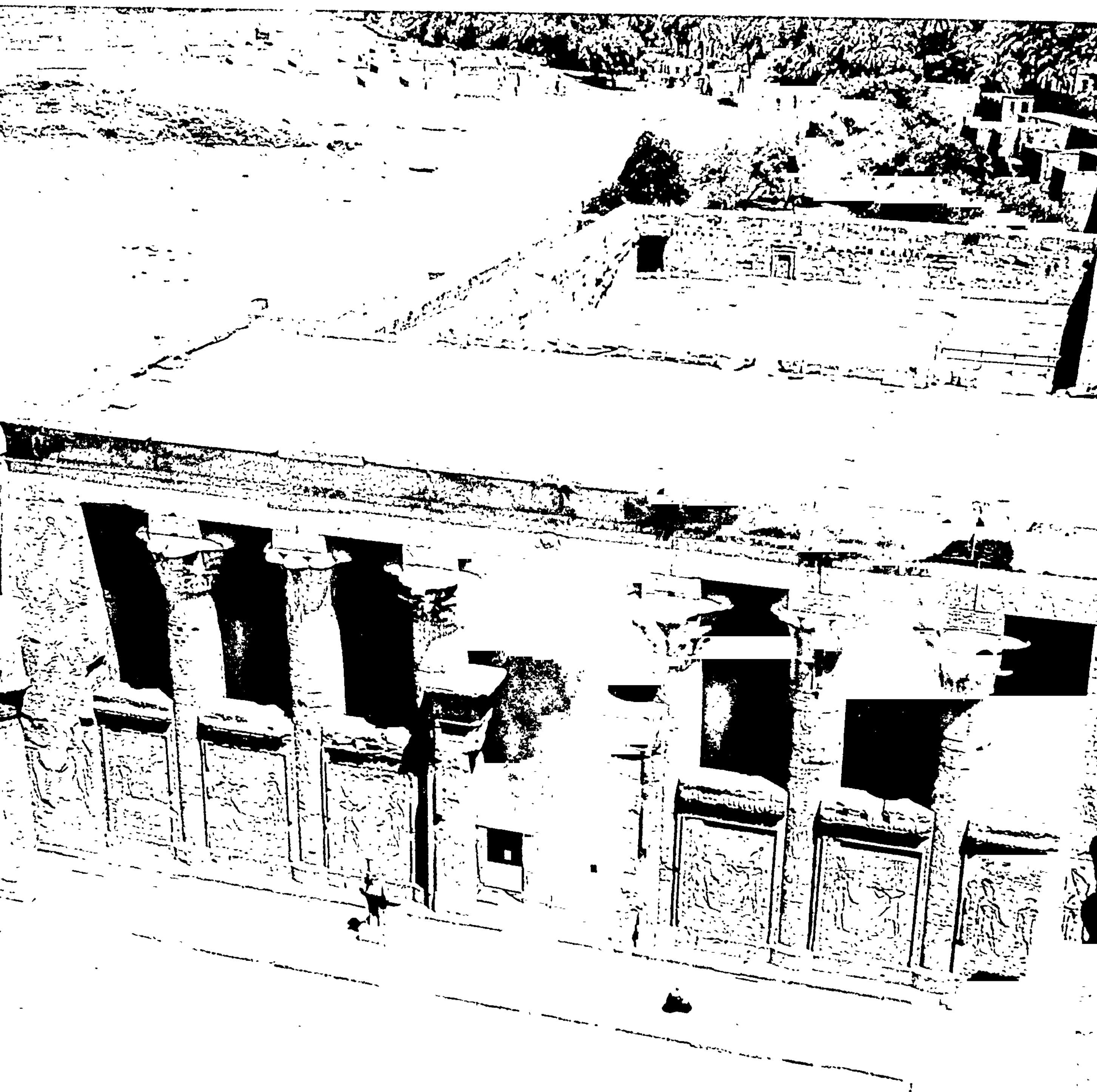




50 - DENDERA: THE FAÇADE OF
THE TEMPLE TO HATHOR.



51 - DENDERA THE BACK OF
THE TEMPLE TO HATHOR



52 AND 53 - THE TEMPLE AT EDFU: R., THE FALCON-GOD HORUS.



OPIS.

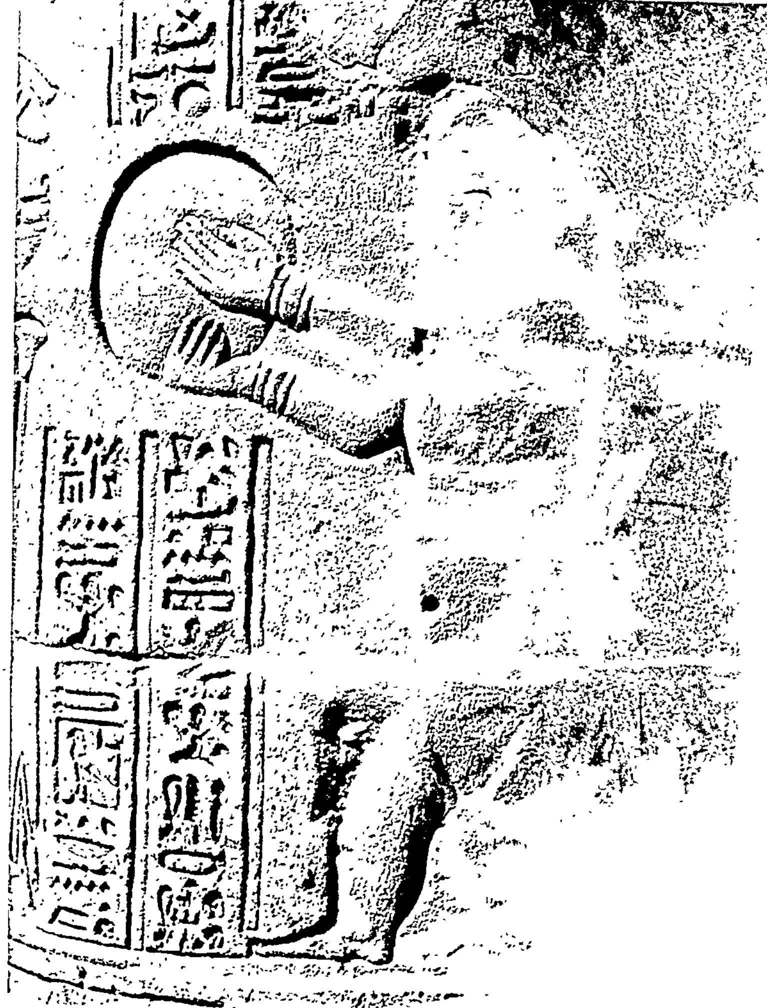


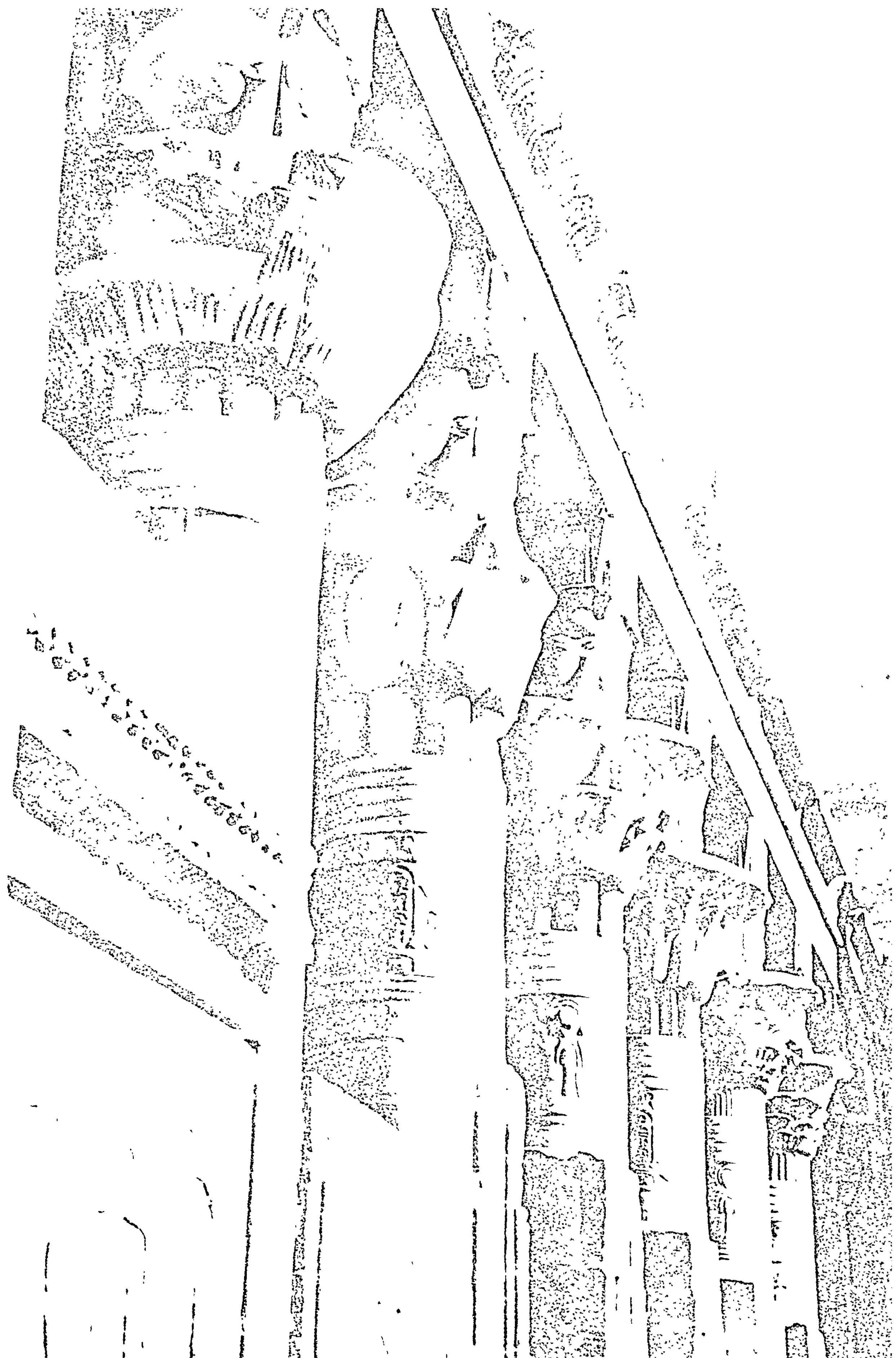


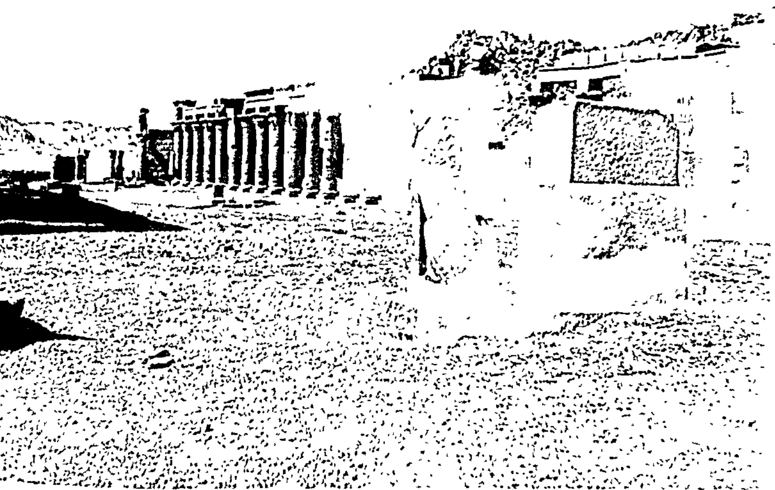




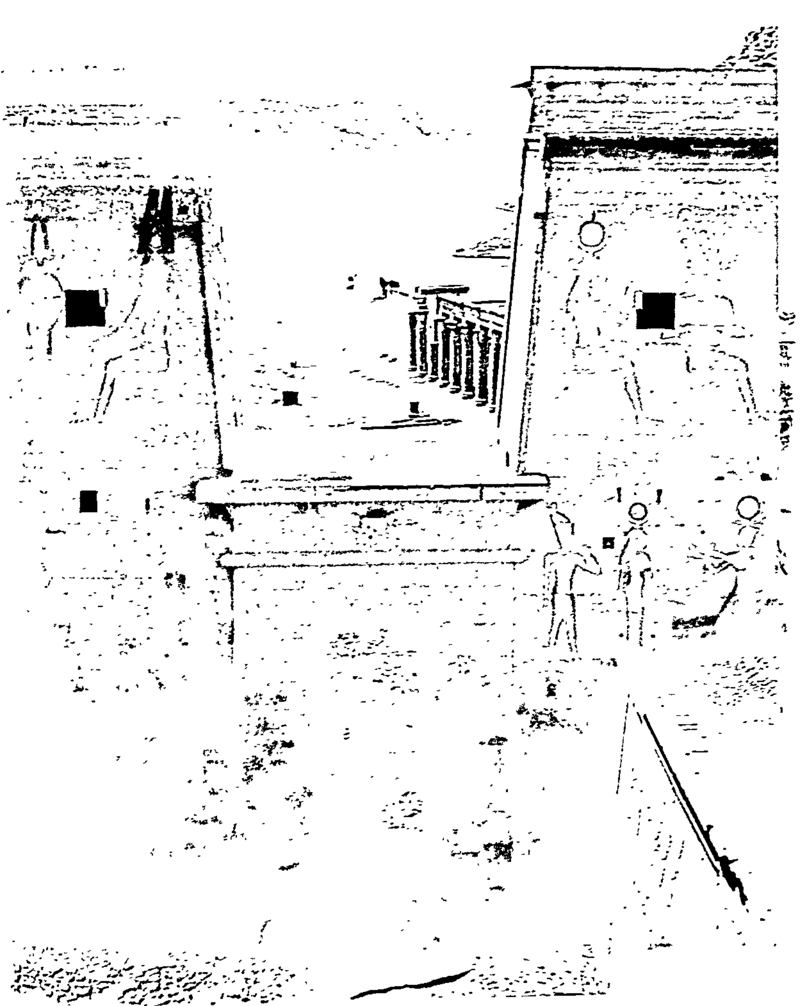
54, 55, 56, 57 AND 58 - PHILAE, TEMPLE TO HATHOR: MUSICAL SCENES.



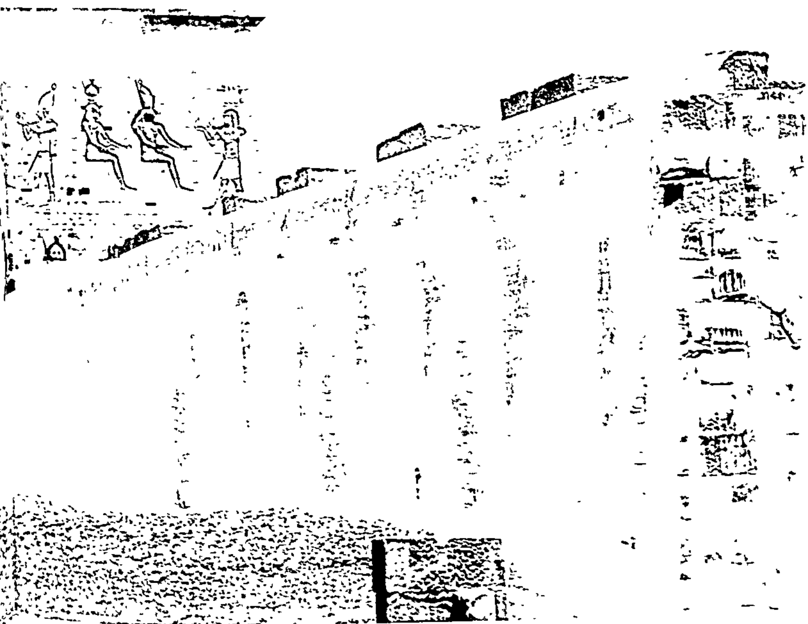




PL. VIII AND 59 - PHILAE ABOVE, THE WEST PORCH,
LEFT, THE COLONNADE OF MAMMISI.







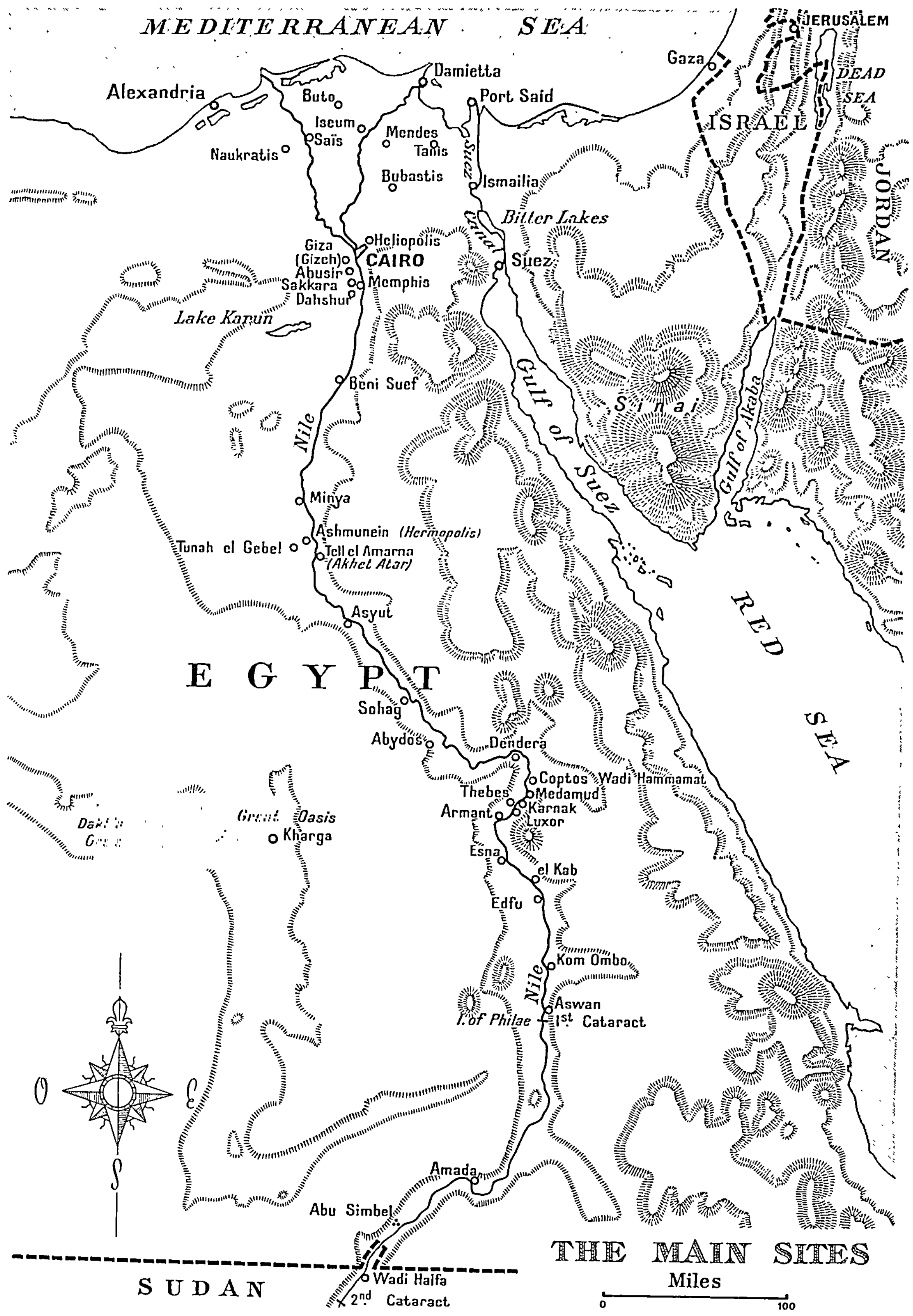
61 - PHILAE THE PYLON OF THE TEMPLE TO ISIS
AND THE UNFINISHED COLONNADE





61 - PHILAE. THE PYLON OF THE TEMPLE TO ISIS AND THE UNFINISHED COLONNADE

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES



MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Alexandria
Buto
Damietta
Port Said
Gaza
JERUSALEM
DEAD SEA
ISRAEL
JORDAN
Iseum
Saïs
Mendes
Tanis
Naukratis
Bubastis
Ismailia
Suez Canal
Bitter Lakes
Heliopolis
Giza (Gizeh)
CAIRO
Abusir
Sakkara
Memphis
Dahshur
Suez
Lake Karun
Gulf of Suez
Sinai
Gulf of Akaba
Beni Suef
Nile
Minya
Ashmunein (Hermopolis)
Tunah el Gebel
Tell el Amarna (Akhet Atar)
Asyut
RED SEA
EGYPT
Sohag
Abydos
Dendera
Coptos
Wadi Hammamat
Thebes
Medamud
Armant
Karnak
Luxor
Great Oasis
Kharga
Esna
el Kab
Edfu
Kom Ombo
Aswan
I. of Philae
1st Cataract
Amada
Abu Simbel
Wadi Halfa
2nd Cataract
SUDAN
THE MAIN SITES
Miles
0
100

PLATES IN BLACK AND WHITE

1. — *The Nubian Nile The River and the Mountain Desert.* Between the Second and First Cataracts, in Nubia, the river crosses the mountainous desert in an impressive solitude The modern barrage of Aswan has already raised the waters covering the bottom of the valley far away upstream. If recent projects were put into action, the level would go up from 390 feet to 590 feet, the entire valley would then disappear and the waters submerge forever all the necropoles and temples, still as yet barely explored, that have seen the centuries go down this difficult but unique route between Egypt and the rest of Africa

2. — *The Egyptian Oasis* Egyptian civilization was born when man first discovered how to use the waters of the Nile Hundreds of canals drain and irrigate the fields and orchards and the exuberant profusion of the most widely varying crops In Upper and Middle Egypt the cultivated land is only a narrow strip shut in by the high wall of the desert, the clear-cut outline of the cliff stands out in all its severity and majestic grandeur in the dazzling light

3. — *The Quarries of Aswan. Unfinished Obelisk.* Quarries were of great importance to ancient Egypt and its builders Granites are to be found only at the First Cataract, where it is the beds of hard rock coming to the surface here that actually cause the fall From a little to the south of Aswan, on the right bank of the Nile, came the gigantic monoliths cut in one piece from the rock One of them—it must have been more than 100 feet long —was left unfinished. The great block had yet to be taken from its niche, carried down to the river and loaded onto a barge Dozens of these obelisks, which once stood before the main temples, show what perfect mastery ancient Egyptian technique had acquired.

4 — *Sakkara Corner of the Foundations of the Unfinished Pyramid* In October, 1951, excavations of the Antiquities Commission, led by Mr Zakaria Goneim, brought to light to the south of the great pyramid of Zoser at Sakkara a vast wall containing the remains of the foundations of a terraced pyramid These discoveries revealed the different stages of building in this type of construction As Mr. Lauer has shown, the terraced pyramids characteristic of the IIIrd dynasty were built in layers of masonry applied one upon the other, the beds are sloped perpendicularly to the facings, which are inclined about fifteen degrees in relation to the vertical.

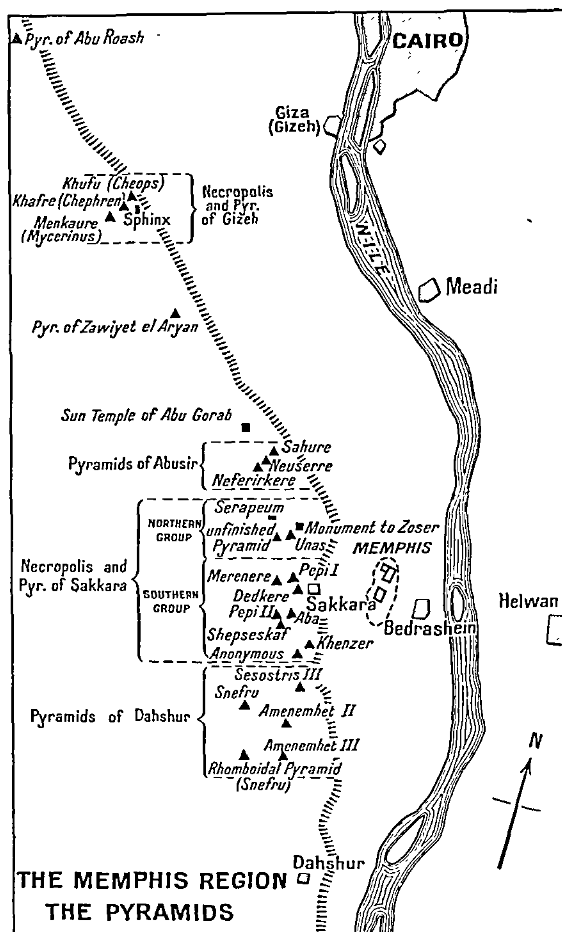
5 — *Sakkara The Outside Wall of the Unfinished Pyramid* Mr Zakaria Goneim dug out the remains of a magnificent wall with bastions and redans which, left unfinished, had been hidden under some embankments Similar in more than one respect to the neighboring wall of Zoser (see nº 7), the blocks here are, however, twice the size, the fine limestone is used in this case much more sparingly and a single row of facing blocks was applied before the filling of various local stones. These architectural considerations seemed to point to the unfinished construction's having been built by a king later than Zoser; the objects subsequently found inside the pyramid have confirmed this

6. — *Unfinished Pyramid at Sakkara. The Alabaster Sarcophagus.* At the end of a long descending passage, you come to a burial chamber, the walls of which are only coarsely dug out and neither smoothed down nor decorated. This chamber contains an alabaster sarcophagus that is not quite finished, though touched up with odd pieces and plaster. The form of the sarcophagus is not strictly geometrical and it would be an illusion, as in the case of many Egyptian monuments, to attach too much importance to the deceiving precision of the measurements; the " official " length of the sarcophagus is 7 feet and the height 3 feet, 6 inches. There is an unusual vertical trap on one of the small sides. Solemnly opened, it was found to be empty. The new pyramid is none the less a source of very precious information on the still obscure history of the beginnings of the IIIrd dynasty.

7. — *The Funeral Palace of Zoser at Sakkara. The Outside Wall and the Terraced Pyramid.* The work of Imhotep, the architect of genius employed by the first king of the IIIrd dynasty, Horus Neterirkhet, traditionally known by his first name of Zoser (about 2800 B.C.), the terraced pyramid is situated in the center of a vast rectangular enclosure 1,765 feet by 909 feet, no less than thirty-seven acres. Thanks to the work of Mr. Lauer, who has been at Sakkara for thirty years, the southwest part of the outside wall has been rebuilt near the one and only way into the monument. It is a splendid wall in fine limestone, with bastions and redans; the facing is small, well smoothed down and pointed with remarkable attention to detail.

There were originally more than six different projects for this " pyramid, " only the last of which were of the terraced type. In its final state there are six tiers, with a steep slope of fifteen degrees in relation to the vertical, each " step " making a glacis inclined more than 20° on the horizontal. The layout of this " pyramid "—which, properly speaking, is not really a pyramid—is slightly elongated in a line running southwest, the base being 397 feet by 308 feet. The initial height must have been something like 200 feet.

8. — *The Rhomboidal Pyramid of Dahshur.* Snefru, the founder of the IVth dynasty, probably built several pyramids. Recent investigation shows the curious pyramid of Dahshur, just south of the necropolis of Memphis, to be his. 300 feet or more high, the sides have a double slope; at the base it is 54° 31' 13" then, starting from the middle, about 43° 21'. The intersecting line of the two slopes is very slightly raised near the ridge.



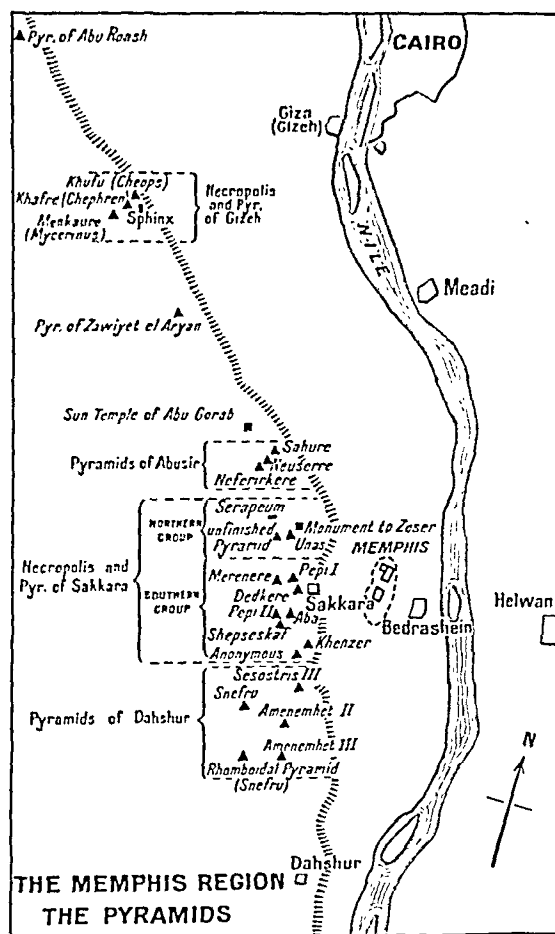
9. — *Gizeh (Giza). The Pyramid of Khufu (Cheops) Seen from the Southeast.* The great pyramid of Gizeh was—rightly enough—considered one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. It was built by Snefru's successor, Khufu, the Cheops of the Greeks or, in fuller style, Khumkhufu, " the god who protects me. " All round the pyramids were the tombs of courtiers, the ceremonial chapels of

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which have been known since Mariette as *mastaba*—the Arab term for " bench "—for from outside they do indeed look like little benches, with their slightly inclined walls and lack of decoration. Only on the façade is there a way in, stele and entrance, very simple in most cases. At the southeast corner of the pyramid of Khufu, the reconstituted façade of the *mastaba* of Seshemnefer IV can be seen Unlike most, it has a monumental entrance, with columns supporting an entablature in front of which are statues and were, originally, a number of small obelisks.

[illegible] nº 11), near the cultivated land, stands the sphinx with its ever mysterious, astonishing face. Who can have carved from the rock this lion with a human head with features recalling those of Chephren ? Facing the rising sun, it is thus Harmachis, " the Horus of the horizon, " but at the same time it is the god Hurun Over 60 feet high, it is most awe-inspiring and the Arabs call it Abu Hol, or " the father of Terror " Amenhotep II, the athlete king, had a stele built here to boast of his exploits His successor Thutmosis IV (1425-1408 B. C.) received the promise of kingship in a dream while resting in the shadow of the sphinx, the stele he later had engraved tells how he then built a wall here to hold back the sand

11. — *Sakkara. Relief on the Tomb of Tiy* Egyptian art reached one of its heights in the reliefs on the tomb of Tiy, " the one and only friend, chief of his master's secrets in all places, chief of all the king's works, director of the pyramids of the Kings Neferirkere and Neuserre " (end of the Vth dynasty). The serene and noble attitude of the dead man makes him the ideal of the ancient empire, the movement is taken from life, though the composition has a supreme harmony. The engraving has great delicacy, precision without fixedness, and the whole is set off by colours that time has now dimmed. The art of the Old Empire managed to catch the eternal, the technique is so perfect as to leave you almost unaware of it. Rarely has such distinction been achieved with such simplicity.

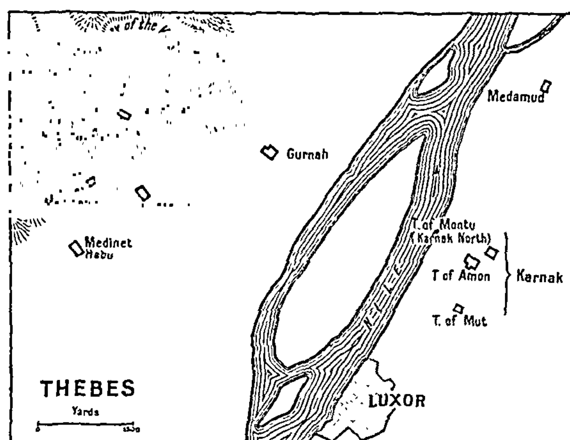
12 — *Karnak (Middle Empire). Sesostris I and the God Montu.* There are now very few buildings left of the Middle Empire. They were all destroyed, or rather " re-used, " in later periods, parts were taken down to go into new buildings. Inside the third pylon of Karnak, Chevrier found all save one or two of the blocks of a splendid chapel in white limestone built by Sesostris I, which he has since reconstituted

This picture shows Sesostris I face to face with Montu, the falcon-god, master of Thebes before Amon took his place There is a double uraeus (sacred serpent) wound round the solar disk, above which are two little feathers The eminently classical art of the beginning of the Middle Empire is distinguished in its equilibrium and perfection of detail The ornaments of the different persons are treated with the greatest care, every single hieroglyph is a masterpiece in itself

13. — *Dair el Bahri. The Cliff Circle and the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut* From the top of the sheer cliff, you overlook the circle of Dair el Bahri, the " convent of the North, " so named after a Coptic monastery that once occupied the ancient ruins. There, at the foot of the natural pyramid of Thebes, on the western height, Queen Hatshepsut had her funeral temple built, near that of one of the kings of the XIth dynasty. Beyond a great courtyard, across terraces along which run porticoes with celebrated reliefs, you go up towards the chapels set in the rocky cliffside. It is a splendid ensemble, extraordinarily well fitted to its setting, without its equal in all the rest of Egyptian art. The remarkable proportions underline the purity of the lines and the immense horizontals which stand out perfectly straight in all their simplicity at the foot of the cliff; the severe parallelism seems like an expression of eternity in architectural form. Below, to the east, the Nile flows through cultivated fields. Beyond, the line of crests which cuts off the circus of Dair el Bahri to the north begins a long valley, the upper part of which, curving back towards the south on a level with Dair el Bahri, contains the tombs of the Pharaohs of the New Empire; this is the famous Valley of the Kings' Tombs.

14 — *The Colossi of Memnon Bathed in the Flood Waters* In the cult of the dead the deceased sovereign was thought of as a god The burial

place properly speaking was actually far from here, in the shadow of the natural pyramid of Thebes in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs. The temple of Amenhotep III has now entirely disappeared under the fields. But the giant statues that were in front of the entrance are still standing; these are the colossi of Memnon. Set on a tall pedestal, they are nearly 60 feet high, yet the harmony is so great that the figures nevertheless remain human.



In 27 B.C. the northern colossus was damaged by an earthquake and in the early morning dew the crack gave out curious sounds. It was thought to be Memnon, the son of the dawn, " warmed by the maternal torch, who lifted his musical voice at the Libyan mountains of Egypt. " Repaired by Septimus Severus, the colossus became silent once more.

15. — *Temple of Karnak. The Heraldic Pillars of Thutmosis III.* Before the sanctuary of the sacred barque of Amon stand two tall granite pillars that bear the cartouches of Thutmosis III. On two of the sides there are motifs in high relief, each bearing one of the symbolic plants of the two halves of the country: on the south side, the lily, emblem of Upper Egypt, and on the north, the papyrus of Lower Egypt.

16. — *Temple of Karnak. Façade of the Seventh Pylon.* Thutmosis III is holding a bunch of prisoners by the hair and brandishing his mace over their heads. The group of captives is evenly set out; kneeling, lifting their arms in supplication, they are all bearded Asiatics with delicate profiles. Behind is a goddess holding little medallions on ropes with the names of the towns of the vanquished, above which are the faces of the prisoners whose arms are bound. On the upper part, to the right, is the god Amon; the image is partly destroyed. He was the god who gave victory.

17. — *Temple of Karnak. The North Outside Wall of the Hypostyle Hall.* On the north outside wall of the hypostyle hall of Karnak are the victories of Seti I in a series of rows of pictures painted with admirable movement. The crown prince at his side, the king is struggling with the Libyans and Hittites. On the left of the photograph, near the entrance to the hypostyle hall leading towards the sanctuary where the gods live, the outcome of these combats is shown: the king is presenting the chained prisoners and booty to the Triad of Thebes, then he sacrifices his captives.

18. — *Temple of Karnak. The Obelisks of Queen Hatshepsut.* Before the temple of Amon's barque, Queen Hatshepsut erected on the occasion of her jubilee two obelisks in rose-colored granite which were the biggest in ancient Egypt. The one on the north, which is still in position, is nearly 100 feet high. The point of the southern one, now broken, has been put beside the sacred lake. The obelisks were covered with gold on the upper third.

19. — *Excavations at Karnak, North. Reconstituted Statue of Amenhotep III.* To the north of the great temple of Amon at Karnak is the wall of Montu (see nº 12). Among the discoveries made during excavations in this sector by the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology is a *favissa*, or kind of ditch, where the remains of two splendid statues of quartzite bearing the name of Amenhotep III were found, broken into countless fragments. They have been reconstituted by Robichon with great method and admirable patience. Two masterpieces have thus been added to Egyptian art. The king is shown standing, holding a holy rod with the ram's head of Amon at the top.

20. — *Temple of Luxor. Portico of Amenhotep III.* The second courtyard of the temple at Luxor has an elegant portico on three of its sides erected by Amenhotep III. Above the two rows of papyriform columns, arranged in clusters with closed capitals, are texts to the glory of the Pharaoh and his constructions.

21. — *Karnak. Ikhnaton, the Heretical Pharaoh.* Inside several monuments at Karnak there is a filling of sandstone blocks, generally small in size, from the edifices of Ikhnaton, the heretical Pharaoh. They give us a picture of this ardent, mystical *figure prostrated before the sun, his god.* It will be noticed that these blocks were re-used without, as a general rule, the name nor the image of this king, who was nevertheless officially execrated, having been hammered down. What is more, inside the second pylon of Karnak, whole portions of a construction to the cult of Aton have been *systematically reconstituted for some unknown* reason. In the tomb of Tutenkhamon, Ikhnaton's successor and restorer of the traditional Montian faith, are to be found still further images of Aton (the solar disk with the rays ending in hands), which were the exclusive object of the heretical king's adoration.

22. — *Temple of Karnak. Amon and His Spouse Amonet.* On the north side of the courtyard, before the temple of the sacred barque of Amon, Tutenkhamon built colossal statues in fine red sandstone of a god and goddess, more than 20 feet high. Fragments of these were found during diggings in 1899 by Legrain and were skillfully put together again. The statues are of Amon and a goddess, not Mut his usual companion, but Amonet, whose name comes from that of the god with the simple addition of the feminine ending, — "a grammatical goddess," as Maspero said. According to the custom then in use, the gods are shown in the image of the king; they have the melancholy, somewhat sickly grace of a sovereign who died young, after the grave political and religious crisis of the Amarnian heresy.

23. — *Temple of Karnak. Columns of the Hypostyle Hall.* The hypostyle hall of Karnak, 338 feet wide and 170 feet deep, contains a veritable forest of 134 colossal columns. On either side of a double row of still higher columns making the central nave, the lateral columns are in seven rows, 42 feet high and about 9 feet in diameter. The columns of the two side aisles are in the form of enormous papyri still in bud. Although the hypostyle hall was begun towards the end of the XVIIIth dynasty and it is now certain that Horemheb made the foundations of the side columns, their decoration is due to three later kings: those on the north side were decorated by Seti I, the name of Rameses II is to be found on all the columns and that of Rameses IV on nearly all of them. The countless rings around the columns are in alternate rows of thousands of cartouches, horizontal or vertical, and pictures of offerings scenes. They were painted in bright colours over a ground of yellow ochre.

24. — *Temple of Karnak. The Central Part of the Hypostyle Hall.* Two rows of twelve majestic columns form the central nave of the hypostyle hall of Karnak. They are 69 feet high and have a diameter of more than 10 feet, the weight of each is about [illegible] tons. They finish in papyriform capitals, the [illegible] of which are as much as [illegible] feet in circumference. At the top, enormous abaci were used to support great lintels on which the ceiling slabs rested. In the upper part of the central nave a series of high clerestory windows along the sides let in light onto the processional way. The papyrus buds which made the columns on the side aisles were always in half darkness, however.

25. — *Temple of Luxor. Group of Amon and Mut Bearing the Name of Rameses II.* Next to the statues [illegible] to the great colonnade of Amenhotep III and Tutenkhamon, this group in fine limestone shows the two divine masters of Thebes side by side. The [illegible] of Rameses II is given here. The details are treated with elegance but the whole is systematically [illegible] in a single [illegible] style, giving an impression of [illegible] power and [illegible] dignity.

26. — *Abydos. Rameses II and One of His Sons Capturing the Bull.* [illegible]

on his head, is throwing the lasso; the crown prince, wearing the long plait of a child, is holding it back by the tail to prevent its escaping from the slip knot. This scene before sacrifice is a survival of the old desert hunting; the king's victory over the bull symbolizes his triumph over all his adversaries and he is killing it in honor of the gods who grant victory and prosperity.

27. — *Abydos. Head of a Priest in the Role of Horus Iunmutef.* At the back of the temple of Seti I are seven chapels, one of which is to the dead king now a god. It is before the latter that the person who can be seen here is officiating; he is dressed in a panther skin and has a wig on his head with a long elaborate plait falling in a curl onto his shoulder. The inscription says it is " Horus Iunmutef. " The panther skin was traditionally worn by the eldest son when doing homage to his father. Here the long plait of youth means that the person is playing the part of a child.

28. — *Temple of Abydos. Portrait of the Crown Prince.* Engraved with great mastery in exceptionally good limestone, the reliefs of Abydos may be considered as models of classicism. These masterpieces of Seti I are in the direct tradition of the style of Amenhotep III. The line is neat and there is an elegant subtlety in the molding. Admirable in its finesse, the relief renders the fine Semitic features of the young prince with great suppleness. As on the relief of Horus described above, much attention is given to the details of the youthful plait; but how much is minute observation and how much clever composition it is difficult to say.

29. — *Temple of Abydos. The Pharaoh Seti I Making an Offering to the God Socharis.* All along the temple walls countless pictures in strict order show Pharaoh doing homage to the gods; he—and he alone—had this privilege, though he was, of course, assisted by priests in the actual exercise of his functions. These pictures correspond to the rites actually celebrated close by. They are more than just pictures — special ceremonies made them " animated. " The figures themselves then accomplished the acts of the rite to go on making offerings forever. Egypt was essentially a world of immanence. Socharis, with his falcon's head, is a Memphite god of the dead; another version of Ptah and Osiris, he is, like the latter, sometimes shown in the form of a mummy holding scepters.

30. — *Temple of Abydos. Vassal Peoples of Africa.* Shields like these were used by the Egyptians to symbolize the peoples of Asia and Africa under their power. Full-lipped negroes, with flat noses and rings in their ears, symbolize the two countries of Ikauti and Gerses in a list of southern lands engraved by Rameses II at Abydos; the location of these people has not yet been determined among Egyptian possessions which stretched as far as the savannahs of the Sudan.

31. — *Temple of Seti I at Abydos. Fragment of a Chariot Wheel.* This fragment is part of a war scene, a very frequent subject in the New Empire, when Egypt extended her rule to her Asian neighbors. The sovereign, whose foot can be seen here, is upright in his chariot, watching the hands cut from his vanquished enemies being counted. The body of the chariot is decorated with the head of a Syrian that the Pharaoh is crushing underfoot. Although the frightful cruelty of Assyrian reliefs is not to be found here, the Egyptian scenes nevertheless set forth the constant triumph of Egypt over other peoples in every way possible. The kingpin fixing the wheel to the axle is decorated with a small Asiatic head dominated by a lion's muzzle — the royal symbol triumphing over the vanquished enemy.

32. — *Temple of Seti I at Abydos. Massacre of Asiatic Enemies.* Enemies falling pierced by arrows are shown at the feet of Rameses II, as he wins the Syrian fortresses he is attacking. Very vivid movement animates the battle scenes of the New Empire. In an effort to be realistic and create a certain effect, the landscape and decorative elements appear as though thrown into space, freed of the frames to which Egyptian art generally submits its compositions.

33. — *Abydos. The Tomb of Osiris.* Just behind the great temple of Abydos, the tomb of Osiris is a complex edifice, the layout and purpose of which are not yet perfectly clear. Hollowed out underground for the most part, this cenotaph, the work

of Seti I, may recall in its general plan the original hill of the creation of the world. A network of tunnels and staircases connects it to the primeval waters There is a vast hall, 100 feet by 65 feet, divided into three naves by two rows of enormous square pillars of rose-colored granite.

34 — *Thebes. The Rameseum* The Rameseum is the funerary temple of Rameses II, a thing of wonder to the ancients, this powerful construction is today in ruins. The second courtyard is 170 feet wide and 90 feet deep The peristyle surrounding it has heavy columns on the side aisles, on the other two sides there are Osiriac pillars nearly 33 feet high.

35. — *The Rameseum and the Natural Pyramid of Thebes.* Like all the funerary temples on the left bank of Thebes, the Rameseum stands on the edge of the cultivated field and the desert, with above and behind it the natural pyramid of Thebes. Under the latter, in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs, are the real tombs The funerary temples were chapels connected with the actual tombs which were several miles away The cult of the deceased king was associated with that of certain gods It should be noted that the enormous stones hold themselves together, certain forces are skillfully brought into play and it is actually their own weight that prevents them from falling.

36 — *Temple of Medinet Habu The Second Courtyard.* The most important building of Medinet Habu is the funerary temple of Rameses III, the victorious adversary of the Peoples of the Sea His monument in some ways recalls the Rameseum, the funerary temple of Rameses II, but the dimensions here are even greater. Like the Rameseum, the second courtyard has a colonnade on either side and was bordered, on the east and west, by tall Osiriac pillars, today very much damaged. The columns, of the type with closed capitals, were decorated with pictures of the Pharaoh and various gods; they still have some of their original coloring.

37. — *Temple of Medinet Habu The Other Side of the First Pylon and the Fortified Gateway* The enclosure of Medinet Habu was entered by a triumphal military gateway. Behind was the enormous pylon of the façade of the funerary temple of Rameses III. The other side of the south mole is decorated

marsh

showr

The picture has remarkably well-drawn features and dramatic intensity without equal, it is enough, alone, to prove that the art of the time of Rameses is unjustly discredited

38. — *Temple of Karnak. The Pharaoh Rameses IV* In the great temple of Karnak there are a great many " wandering " blocks, of all sizes, from the ruined walls This one shows the successor of Rameses III, the Pharaoh Rameses IV who reigned only six years (about 1160 B C) [illegible]

reign, in the other

39 — *Karnak The Colonnade of Tabarka* In front of the temple of Amon at Karnak, in what is today the great west courtyard, Taharka, a Pharaoh of the XXVth dynasty, known as the " Ethiopian, " erected a monumental colonnade of a kind brought into fashion by his predecessor Shabaka He also built some of the other entrances of Karnak, to the north, south and east Only one of these is still standing, on the west colonnade It is 69 feet high, slender and more gracious than the columns of the hypostyle hall, like them, though the portrayal is probably better, it is in the form of a papyrus stem and umbel

40 — *The Natural Pyramid of Thebes Seen from the Porch of the Tomb of Montuemhet* There are not only several kings' tombs on the left bank of Thebes, but also those of other notables When the central power began to weaken, at the beginning of the Low Period particularly, certain tombs of high dignitaries became veritable funerary palaces In the Assasif sector near Dair el Bahri, the tomb of Montuemhet, " Prince of the Town, " that is to say governor of Thebes, who served one after the other the Ethiopians, Assyrians and finally the Saïtes (middle of the seventh century B C), has recently been explored in detail. The tomb is decorated with elegant reliefs and was surrounded by a wall of unbaked brick with a great archway through which the natural pyramid of Thebes can be seen.

41. — *Karnak. Taharka, Pharaoh of the XXVth Dynasty, Known as the " Ethiopian. "* Under the XXVth dynasty, which came from the south from the land of Cush and has always been known as the " Ethiopian, " Egypt had a new period of greatness (beginning of the seventh century B.C.). On the many buildings which then came into being, these Pharaohs are shown in the traditional way; only the lips and nose are a little heavier. But, as kings of Egypt and the Sudan, they wear a double uraeus on the forehead. Later, when they went to war against the south (591 B.C.), Psamtek II remembered the Ethiopians; he had the second uraeus engraved and on the cartouches of his predecessors that had been hammered down he put his own names.

42. — *Karnak. The Divine Worshipper and the God Amon.* In the XXVth dynasty, the Ethiopian sovereigns entrusted the region of Thebes to the Divine Worshippers, members of their own family. True queens, they were allowed to assist in all the rites of the cult and possessed all the royal privileges. Vowed to earthly celibacy, they were the spouses of the god Amon. A series of graceful pictures shows the various stages of the cult; the Divine Worshipper here appears face to face with the Master of Thebes, the two alone together. This scene is engraved on the post of the gate into one of the numerous little chapels which, at Karnak itself, show how widespread was the cult of Osiris.

43. — *The Tomb of Petosiris. Tunah el Gebel.* In Middle Egypt, Tunah el Gebel is the site of the Greco-Egyptian town of Hermopolis, formerly Khumunu (or " town of the eight ") which the Arabs still call Ashmunein today. Mr. Lefebvre dug it out in 1919 and then published the *Tomb of Petosiris.* Built at the beginning of the Macedonian rule, about 300 B.C., it is the chapel of a family tomb. First comes a vestibule, the façade of which has four columns joined together by intercolumnal panels on which Petosiris is shown sacrificing to the local gods. Petosiris was the " procurator of Thoth, " high priest of this god and grand dignitary of the priests of the region. The texts engraved in the chapel are a reflection of his profound wisdom, later to become famous when his tomb was made a place of pilgrimage.

44. — *The Balustraded Wall of Tunah el Gebel.* To the west of the tomb of Petosiris, excavations made by Cairo University have brought to light a limestone balustrade about 2 feet high which probably separates the town of the dead from the district known as that of the " superior spirits, " or perfected souls of the dead. Nearby are the remains of a well 115 feet deep; it fed a vast park where ibis were reared. Here the entrance was to be found to the huge subterranean chambers where thousands of mummies of ibis and monkeys that were sacred to the god Thoth lie piled up.

45. — *Tunah el Gebel. The Courtyard of Petosiris.* Dug out from the sands that buried it, Tunah el Gebel seems to have been a great town of the dead. Families must have met together here in the chapels on feast days, as they still do today in the cemeteries of Egypt. On the squares the high dignitaries had temples built. Egyptian genius together with that of the Macedonian period, then of the Roman, can be seen together here everywhere. To the south of the tomb of Petosiris is a vast esplanade with edifices all around it. To the left is temple nº 1, over a foundation with several steps leading up to it, and an altar in front; the refined decoration belongs to the late period. To the right is temple nº 2, by contrast in the purest traditional style. The bare façade is framed in a torus and above is a grooved cornice. Between the temples is the funeral house known as that of Isidora; the ground floor, like the first, with an outside stairway leading up to it, has two halls cradle-vaulted perpendicularly to the axis. There is a Greek epigram here recalling the early end of the deceased: " In truth, oh Isidora, it is the Nymphs, the daughters of the waters, who built thee this chamber. "

46. — *Behbeit el Hagar. The Chaos of Granite Blocks of the Iseum.* Right in the heart of the Delta, near Mansura, the ruins of Behbeit el Hagar form a huge pile of granite blocks; they are the remains of an immense temple erected by Nectanebo and the Ptolemies in honor of the goddess Isis.

47. — *Behbeit el Hagar. Pharaoh Making an Offering to a Goddess.* Dating from the dawn of the Ptolemaic period, the reliefs of the Iseum are in an excellent style. The granite is worked in the best

tradition of Egyptian technique. The elegance in some places, however, is rather affected; a certain exaggeration is already to be noticed. A sovereign, the name of whom is not given—it is one of the first Ptolemies—is doing homage from a meadow, symbolized by reeds growing out of a marsh, to Akhet, a goddess whose horns are set around a disk surmounted by two tall feathers.

48. — *Dendera. The Sacred Lake and the Surrounding Wall.* In the background, the desert. In what was the sixth nome of Upper Egypt, the ruins of the buildings of the holy places of Dendera on the edge of the desert form an immense parallelogram, the biggest side of which is 3,900 feet long. There are three enclosures of unbaked brick, the walls of which, 30 feet or more thick, are still up to 30 feet high. One of the enclosures was to Horus, the companion god of the goddess Hathor, the other was to their son, the young god Ihy. The enclosure to Hathor, the goddess of love and joy, is the best preserved; it encloses a number of buildings—the great temple to Hathor, the *mammisi* or birth temple of Nectanebo, and the Roman *mammisi*, the little temple of Isis, the sacred lake (see Pl. VII)—which show how strong Egyptian religion was under the Ptolemies and the first Caesars.

49. — *Dendera. Scene of the Roman Mammisi.* The *mammisi* is the annex of the temple where the goddess retired to give birth to the third person of the divine triad, in whom the king was recognized. There are still two *mammisis* at Dendera. One bears the name of Nectanebo, it is the oldest to have been found in Egypt. Close by is the second, dating from the Roman period, it is surrounded by a portico, the columns of which are linked halfway up by intercolumnal walls. The general theme of the decoration of the *mammisi* concerns the birth and feeding of the divine child. Here the king is making an offering to the goddess Hathor who is feeding the god Ihy, a naked child wearing the plait of youth (see nº 26-28). Ihy is shown again behind his mother; this time he is the same height as herself, but wears the plait of youth and has his finger in his mouth like a child. He is naked, protected by a great cloth spread out round him. In spite of a certain swelling, the relief is still clear and neatly outlined. Great attention has been paid to detail.

50. — *Dendera. The Façade of the Temple to Hathor.* According to the old principles of Egyptian architecture, dating from the times when buildings were made of brick, the walls of the temple of Hathor at Dendera are only slightly inclined. The ridges are underlined by a torus and the whole is surmounted by a grooved cornice, in the centre of which floats a winged solar disk. The vestibule or pronaos which is today the forepart of the temple was added under Tiberius, it is a hypostyle hall flooded with light coming in through immense openings. The upper part of the façade is in effect supported by six columns, linked together at mid-height only by panels, their abacus capitals are decorated on all four sides with the head of the goddess Hathor, surmounted by a sort of naos. All the usable surfaces—sides walls, columns, intercolumnal walls, door posts—are covered with scenes and inscriptions. The general theme is the consecration of the temple by Pharaoh and the offering to Hathor, sometimes accompanied by her divine son. On the frieze there is a double procession converging towards the head of the goddess, portrayed in the middle above the central way.

51. — *Dendera. The Back of the Temple to Hathor.* The far side of the temple to Hathor has a remarkable decor. In the central line of the temple, on a level with the niche which contains, on the inside, what was probably the most sacred image of the goddess, the centre of the wall is occupied by a colossal gold-plated head of Hathor. The face of the goddess is framed in a headdress with curls finishing in horns around the disk, this was the object of supreme veneration. She was most probably enthusiastically worshipped in the Coptic period, too. On either side of the goddess are two immense pictures, opposite those of the five gods of Dendera in line, of Ptolemy Caesarion, the son of Julius Caesar, consecrating incense on a perfume burner, and, behind him, his mother, the celebrated Cleopatra, making the musical offering, shaking the sistres. On the upper part, where there is a series of offerings scenes, are monumental gargoyles in the form of lions. Hornets have thickly encrusted the inscriptions on the side wall and they are now irreparably damaged.

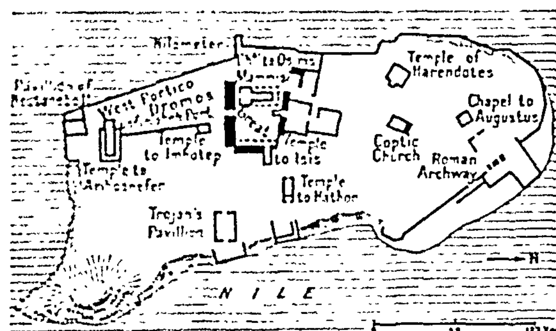
52. — *The Temple of Edfu.* Under the Ptolemies, the old capital of the second nome of Upper Egypt was given a sumptuous new temple to the god

Horus. Buried under mounds of earth during the centuries and thus protected, it was dug out by Mariette. This house of Horus at Edfu is enormous—450 feet long; the pylon of the façade is 260 feet wide and 115 feet high. The general layout, on a grand scale though of great simplicity, starts from a central axis. Beyond a great courtyard closed at the sides by two porticoes, the building proper, surrounded by a watch corridor, opens into a pronaos, followed by a second hypostyle or apparition hall. Before the sanctuary and halls surrounding it, is the " offerings chamber " where there is a staircase up to the roof. The terrace used to have a high wall round it which hid it from the common gaze; ceremonies were performed here, sometimes in a little pavilion that has now disappeared.

53. — *Temple of Edfu. The Falcon-God Horus.* The master of the temple of Edfu is Horus, the falcon, " the great god and lord of the heavens, the god with the speckled plumage, who rises out of the horizon. " There are many inscriptions, particularly on the stone wall round the outside corridor, which give a good deal of information on the myth and cult of the god and the rites and ceremonies celebrated in his honor. Horus, the " hero with a strong arm, " beat his enemy Set many times; his harpoon pierced the fearful hippopotamus. His continual victories symbolize those of Egypt over her enemies. At the far end of the great court of Edfu, near the entrance to the pronaos, there is still a truly regal statue of the unchallenged master of the heavens, the dynastic god of Egypt.

54, 55, 56, 57 and 58. — *Philae. Temple of Hathor, Musical Scenes.* (Going from right to left and top to bottom: the god Bes playing the harp, a double-flute player, a harp player; a second double-flute player; on the right hand page, the god Bes playing the tambourine.) Of the great up-croppings of rock stretching for several miles which cause the First Cataract, the Island of Philae is one of the furthest south and certainly the most famous. But it is now hidden from its admirers for the better part of the year; since the construction of the barrage of Aswan, the island is submerged. Only when the river is in spate, during the summer, is the barrage emptied to let the silt-charged water through. The temples then reappear to bear witness to the brilliant history of the island of Isis. Only the last pages of the latter are known to us, however. Over a length of 500 yards, and a width of less than 160 yards, what a collection of masterpieces! Nectanebo built an elegant pavilion here. Beyond a double portico bearing the name of Augustus, you come to the temple of the goddess who was adored right up until the sixth century, in the time of Justinian, when all the empire had long since become Christian. Beside it is the *mammisi* decorated by Ptolemy Euergetes, completed in the reign of Tiberius. Not far away a chapel to Osiris is still to be found which must have been built by the Antonines, a little sanctuary of Imhotep, Trojan's charming pavilion and, finally, the temple to Hathor, begun by the Ptolemies and continued by Augustus. Goddess of love, Hathor liked only scenes of music and dancing. The grotesque god Bes accompanies her; his funny or frightening face was enough to chase away all enemies of joy.

59. — *Philae. The Colonnade of the Mammisi.* The west side of the courtyard of the great temple to Isis is occupied by a *mammisi*, or small building reserved for the birth of the baby god (see nº 49).



The *mammisi* is surrounded by a portico; above the intercolumnal walls stand the columns with their capitals of varying floral themes. Over these are Hathoric heads, wearing a kind of naos.

60. — *Philae. The Pylon of the Temple to Isis and the West Portico.* On the edge of the river, at the southernmost point of the island, a pavilion erected by Nectanebo in the last years of Egypt's independence welcomed the visitor. Going up a *dromos* with a portico along either side, you came to the

first pylon of the temple to Isis, the gate of which also bears the name of Nectanebo, whereas on the main buildings those of the Ptolemies are to be found.

61. — *The Pylon of the Temple to Isis and the Unfinished Colonnade.* The first pylon of the temple to Isis is 59 feet high. On the façade, the Pharaoh Ptolemy Neos Dionysos is massacring captive enemies (see nº 16) in the presence of the gods Isis, Horus of Edfu and Hathor. Before, are the damaged remains of two granite lions, dating from the Low Period, like so many to be found before the temples of Sudan and Nubia The colonnade bordering the *dromos* on the east side is unfinished

62. — *Philae The Other Side of the West Porch and the Nile* The west porch has a row of columns on the façade with capitals of varying types; the far wall is decorated with scenes of offerings bearing the names of Augustus and the first Caesars. The portico overlooks the Nile just below, which divides into branches here between the islands and rocks, as it makes its way into Egypt bringing prosperity To the south is Nubia, the ancient [illegible]

the waters of a colossal barrage forever. As the latter is to be built a few miles upstream of the cataract, the level of the reservoir of the present barrage downstream might then be lowered The venerable old island of Philae would then paradoxically escape from its watery grave and the wonderful temples would be restored to the sunshine of Egypt for the whole of the year.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY (*)

PRETHINITE AND THINITE PERIOD

(c. 3000-2800 B.C.)

Scorpion King

Ist Dynasty: Menes or Narmerza
Zet (Wadji) or Serpent King

OLD EMPIRE (c. 2800-2250)

IIIrd Dynasty:
Zoser
Sekhmet

IVth Dynasty:
(c. 2720-2560)
Snefru
Khufu (Cheops)
Dedefre
Khafre (Chephren)
Menkaure (Mycerinus)

Vth Dynasty:
Sahure
Neuserre
Unas

VIth Dynasty:
Teti
Pepi I
Pepi II

FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

(c. 2250-2150)

MIDDLE EMPIRE

XIth Dynasty:
(c. 2150-2000)
Antef
Mentuhotep

XIIth Dynasty:
(c. 2000-1785)
Amenemhet I
Sesostris III

SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD : THE HYKSOS

THE NEW EMPIRE (c. 1580-1085)

XVIIIth Dynasty:
Ahmosis (1580-1558)
Amenhotep I
Thutmosis II
Hatshepsut
Thutmosis III (1504-1450)
Amenhotep III (1405-1372)
Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton, 1372-1354)
Tutenkhamon
Horemheb

XIXth Dynasty:
Seti I (1312-1298)
Rameses II (1301-1235)
Merenptah

XXth Dynasty:
Rameses III (1198-1166)
Rameses XI

THE DECLINE

XXIst Dynasty:
Pusennes I
XXIInd Dynasty:
Osorkon I (end of the tenth century, beginning of the ninth century)
XXVth Dynasty: (715-656)
Piankhi
Shabaka (715-701)
Taharka (689-664)
XXVIth Dynasty: (663-525)
Psamtek I (663-609)

XXVIth Dynasty: (663-525)
Necho (609-594)
Psamtek II (594-588)
XXVIIth Dynasty:
the Persians
Cambyses (525-522)
Darius (522-485)
XXXth Dynasty (378-341):
Nectanebo I and II
XXXIst Dynasty:
Second Persian rule (341-333)
Alexander's Conquest (332)
Phillip Arrhidaeus

THE LAGIDES (323-30)

Ptolemy I (323-284)
Ptolemy IV
Ptolemy XII
Cleopatra
Battle of Actium (31 B.C.)

THE ROMAN EMPERORS

Augustus (27 B.C. - 14 A.D.)
Tiberius (14-37)
Hadrian (117-138)
Septimus Severus (193-211)
Caracalla (211-217)
Decius (248-251)
Diocletian (284-305)
Maximinus Daia (d. 313)

(*) N. B.—A) In this summary, only the reigns of principal rulers are given.

B) At the present state of documentation, it is still impossible to give exact dates for the very early periods. Historians appear agreed upon the date of 1580 B.C. for the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty and, less precisely, that of 2000 for the XIIth dynasty.

COLORED PLATES

Pl I — *The Pyramid of Khafre (Chephren), Seen from the Edge of the Desert.* Where the irrigation comes to an end, the cultivated lands suddenly cease, there is a brutal contrast and beyond are only the desert, sand and rocks Towards the west, where the sun suddenly disappears every evening, the Libyan desert is the perfect land of the dead On the edge of the plateau of Gizeh, the first Pharaohs of the IVth dynasty built their pyramids, where the crops finish on the last canal of the valley, a temple of welcome stood to receive the royal body The procession went from here the length of a long causeway up to the temple set on the flank of the pyramid proper Inside the latter, and underneath, were the complicated corridors leading to the actual burial chamber.

Pl. II. — *Gizeh The Sphinx and the Pyramid of Khafre (Chephren).* Chephren built his pyramid a little to the southeast of that of his father Cheops, on the plateau of Gizeh It is a little lower than the former, 499 feet at the beginning, and smaller, 705 feet along one side at the base It still has the upper part of its fine limestone facing which forms a sort of hat at the top

At the foot of the plateau, at the start of the causeway, stands the sphinx, watching over the silence of the sands which have buried it so many times during the centuries (see n° 10) This colossal effigy of the god Harmachis followed the lines of the general form of the rock. But the face is that of a king whose headdress is ornamented with a uraeus, probably Chephren. The sphinx keeps its secrets.

Pl. III. — *Karnak The Sacred Lake. In the Background, the Hypostyle Hall and the Obelisks* On the south side of the great temple of Amon at Karnak was the sacred lake· 394 feet long and 253 feet wide Certain rites were performed here about which little is known. At the northwest corner of the lake, the Ethiopian Pharaoh Taharka built a sort of tomb of Osiris, today in ruins, this edifice communicated with the pool by an outside staircase and a long covered way In the background, the west part of the great temple of Amon is dominated by the hypostyle hall, the central nave of which is more than 75 feet high Between the latter and the sanctuary of the barque, stood the third, fourth, fifth and sixth pylons, now reduced to ruins There were many obelisks in front of them, the only ones still in position, before the fourth pylon, are a monolith bearing the name of Thutmosis I and, behind the fourth pylon, the north obelisk of Queen Hatshepsut

Pl IV — *The Temple of Luxor and the Nile* South of Thebes on the right bank of the Nile, along the riverside, stand the ruins of the temple of Luxor, the work of Amenhotep III, completed the following century by Rameses II It was a second residence for Amon, his " southern harem " At the feast of Opet, Amon, Mut and Khonsu left their temples at Karnak in solemn procession They went by boat to Luxor, where a sumptuous welcome awaited them They later regained their temples at Karnak amid general rejoicing.

Pl V — *Temple of Abydos. Seti I Welcomed by a Goddess.* The Pharaoh Seti I is welcomed by the goddess Iues-aaes, one of the several forms of the great feminine divinity who in various ways gave Pharaoh life and power. The latter are symbolized here by the ansate cross and two little scepters the goddess is holding out to Pharaoh's nostril The Pharaoh is wearing the blue cap to receive new life from the goddess; on his shoulder is the *heqa* scepter, insignia of royal rule.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY (*)

PRETHINITE AND THINITE PERIOD
(c. 3000-2800 B.C.)

Scorpion King

Ist Dynasty: Menes or Narmerra
Zet (Wadji) or Serpen[illegible]

OLD EMPIRE (c. 280[illegible]

IIIrd Dynasty:
Zoser
Sekhmet

IVth Dynasty:
(c. 2720-2560)
Snefru
Khufu (Cheops)
Dedefre
Khafre (Chephren[illegible]
Menkaure (Myc[illegible]

Vth D[illegible]
S[illegible]

XI[illegible]

SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD : THE HYKSOS

THE NE[illegible] EMPIRE (c. 1580-1085)

XVIIIth Dynasty:
Ahmosis (1580-1558)
[illegible]enhotep I
[illegible]mosis II
[illegible]
[illegible]II (1504-1450)
[illegible] (1408-1372)
[illegible]hnaton,

XIXth Dynasty:
Seti I (1312-1298)
Rameses II (1301-1235)
Merenептah

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Rameses XI

[illegible]CLINE
[illegible]VIth Dynasty: (663-525)
[illegible]o (609-594)
[illegible] II (594-588)
[illegible]nasty:
[illegible])

Pl. VI. — *The Little Prince Amonherkhepshef.* Behind Medinet-Habu there is a mountain passage near Thebes containing numerous tombs of queens and young princes. Tomb nº 55 is that of Amonherkhepshef, the son of Rameses III. The pictures have kept their very brilliant colors. They are in the rather heavy style common to the end of the New Empire. Generally accompanied by his father, the little prince, wearing a lock falling to his shoulder, is shown before a series of gods.

Pl. VII. — *Dendera. The Sacred Lake and the Temple.* The great temple of Dendera, to the goddess Hathor, is an immense, very well preserved edifice and a good example of a typical Egyptian temple, as it has remarkable functional unity although it was built and decorated during many reigns, from the last Ptolemies right up to the Roman Caesars. There was already a temple to Hathor on this site at the time of Pepi I (VIth dynasty) and even at that of Cheops (IVth dynasty). The sacred lake, to the southwest of the great temple, is a deep pool, 108 feet long and 92 feet wide, edged with stone. From the four corners there are steps down to the water. As at Saïs, representations of the sufferings or " mysteries " of Osiris were probably celebrated here. The purification water, for the ablutions of the priest who officiated in the temple for the king, was drawn here.

Pl. VIII. — *Philae : the West Portico.* On the southern tip of the Isle of Philae, before the temple of Isis, Augustus and the first Caesars began two wings of a portico running alongside a *dromos* or way in. Only the western colonnade was finished; it is on a terrace overlooking the Nile (see nº 60 and 62).

The photos for Plates 1-3, 5-39, 42-45, 48-62 have been taken by Albert Raccah. The photos for Plates 4, 40, 41, 46 and 47 are by Jean Leclant and the photo for Plate 19 is by Claude Robichon.

Imprimé en France - Héliogravure de S.A.P.H.O. - Typographie de BRODARD ET TAUPIN
Dépôt légal nº 6.646 - 4e trimestre 1958 - 2.913 - VI - 6.685